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## ALCOHOLISM AMONG PARENTS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

JUVENILE delinquency, as established by scientific study, is the result of highly complex and interacting influences, some of which go back to early infancy. In the records of children brought before the courts the intemperance of one or both parents is a constantly recurring factor in the family situation. Whether in the case of any one child the alcoholism of the parent was the determining influence in the chain of events which brought him to the juvenile court could be discovered only through a careful and scientific study of his life-history. Alcoholism on the part of the parent or parents, however, may be presumed to be a demoralizing influence in the home, both from the point of view of what happens to the child before he comes to the attention of the court and from the point of view of the co-operation that may be expected from the parent in the treatment that the court decides the child needs to correct habits that are responsible for his delinquency. Alcoholism on the part of the parent would therefore make more difficult the substitution of right mental attitudes and habits for the antisocial ones which have developed in the child.

In the present study, in which the facts with reference to the incidence of alcoholism among the parents of a group of delinquent children have been assembled, no attempt has been made to analyze

the more subtle elements involved in lack of parental self-control, such as the influence of the alcoholic parent on the mental life of the child; nor have facts as to mental and physical disease or subnormality, which may have existed in the same families side by side with alcoholism, been studied. But the study has included the relation of alcoholism to other family conditions which may have affected the welfare of the child unfavorably, or which render more difficult proper treatment, such as the separation of the parents or their absence from the home, the lack of support on the part of the father, or employment on the part of the mother and her consequent inability to give adequate supervision to the child. Thus, even if no conclusions as to the causes of the child's delinquency can be drawn, it is important from the standpoint of the treatment of the juvenile delinquent to know whether the complicating factor of alcoholism among the parents is an increasing or a decreasing problem. For this reason facts have been sought by the Children's Bureau upon this question.

The group selected for the general study were the parents of the children whom the Central Boston Juvenile Court referred to the Judge Baker Foundation clinic for psychiatric study. This group was chosen (1) because the careful social investigation which the Judge Baker Foundation makes of the children sent to it for examination includes information about the alcoholism of the parents; (2) because the children whom the Court sends to the Judge Baker Foundation for examination are children whose offenses the Juvenile Court judge regards as serious or whose behavior presents some serious problem. The group studied therefore does not represent all children brought before the Central Court, but only the more serious offenders. Since throughout the period of the study the Juvenile Court had the same judge and the Judge Baker Foundation the same director, the practices and policies of the two organizations have remained to a large extent uniform. During a six-year period 28 per cent of the children's cases heard before the Central Boston Juvenile Court were referred to the Foundation. Since the study does not include all the children who came before the Court, the incidence of alcoholism and of other unfavorable characteristics among the parents of the selected group may have been greater or

less in the group studied than in a group representative of all the children.

The definition of alcoholism which was in use by the Judge Baker Foundation, and on which its interviews with the families and the information in the case records were based, was of necessity accepted for the purposes of the study. The Foundation recorded a parent as alcoholic when he became drunk either occasionally or frequently; that is, when he underwent a temporary change in character or disposition while under the influence of liquor. The man who got drunk every Saturday night, the man who got drunk only at christenings, weddings, or anniversaries, and the man who went on periodic sprees were all classed as alcoholic. Individuals who took liquor in either large or small quantities (including those who drank wine with their meals) but did not get drunk were not called alcoholic. No attempt was made to measure the kind or the degree of alcoholism or intemperance, since records for this purpose were not available.

The basis of the present study is the information the Children's Bureau agents obtained from the case records of the 2,378 delinquent children belonging to 2,155 families whom the Central Juvenile Court referred to the clinic during an eight-year period, from July 1, 1917, a few months after the clinic was established, to June 30, 1925.<sup>1</sup> The social history of the families of the children was obtained by the Judge Baker Foundation workers from interviews with the child's parents, usually the mother. In addition to the parents' statements, the case records contained a report of the child's physical and mental examination, a transcript of the child's court record prior to the time of his examination at the clinic, reports from the Juvenile Court probation officers of their initial investigation and home visit made at the time the child first came to Court, the reports of other social agencies who knew the family, and a record of visits made by Judge Baker Foundation visitors to the child's home after his examination at the clinic. The information regarding the alcoholism of the father was usually taken from the mother's statement to the Foundation worker at the time the child first came to the

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the function of the Judge Baker Foundation and its relation to the Juvenile Court and other social agencies of the city see U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 141 (Washington, 1925), *Juvenile Courts at Work*, pp. 103-5.

clinic. If the mother was not living with the child or was unable to come to the clinic, the source of the information was usually a statement of the father or other relative. Where the alcoholism of either parent was serious, the fact was usually known to the Juvenile Court probation officer or to a social agency, and the report of the probation officer at least was generally in the hands of the Foundation before the interview with the parent. When the probation officer or a social agency, such as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children or the Family Welfare Society or the police, reported that the father or mother was intemperate, and the parents denied it, the statement from the social agency was accepted. If the mother was alcoholic, the information frequently came from such sources and not from her own statements. Some of the parents, especially the mothers, who occasionally became intoxicated but whose intemperance was not a serious family problem were probably not known to be alcoholic by any social agency. Hence, although the statements of the parents were supplemented and checked up by the reports of these agencies, the number of parents, particularly mothers, who were reported as alcoholic is no doubt understated.

In order to discover whether alcoholism of the parents is an increasing or decreasing problem, an analysis was made of the proportion of alcoholism among the fathers of children referred to the clinic during each of the years between 1917 and 1925; and to throw further light on the possible increase or decrease of alcoholism since national prohibition, a special study was made of 582 families, that is, of all the families in which the father or foster-father was alive and living with the family or somewhere in Massachusetts at the time the child came to the clinic, and was reported to have been alcoholic at some time. In the supplementary inquiry the Bureau agents looked up the name of each father in the files of the Massachusetts Probation Commission, and sometimes in the local courts as well, to see if he had a court record of drunkenness,<sup>1</sup> and consulted

<sup>1</sup> Since 1914 the probation officers of all Suffolk County courts (in which county Boston is located) and since 1916 probation officers of all courts bordering on Suffolk County have been required to send to the Massachusetts Probation Commission a daily report of each case heard in the criminal sessions. Since 1924 this report system has included all Massachusetts courts.



social agencies that knew the family (including the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Family Welfare Society, and child-placing agencies) and probation and parole officers. If these sources did not yield adequate information, visitors who had formerly been employed by the Judge Baker Foundation called at the home and talked with the mother or other relative. Usually the home visitor obtained the information from the mother, since it was usually the mother who had reported to the Judge Baker Foundation, at the time the child came to the clinic, that the father was alcoholic.

The attempt was made to secure similar information about the mothers who had records of alcoholism; but because of the small number of mothers who were reported alcoholic at any time and because satisfactory information could not be obtained about all of these, the information secured probably has little significance.

#### RACE, NATIONALITY, AND AGE OF FATHERS

Three-fourths of the fathers in the 2,155 families included in the study whose race and nationality were reported were foreign born; only 19 per cent were native white; and the remainder, 5 per cent, were colored. This proportion of foreign-born fathers is very large when considered in relation to the foreign-born population of the city, although Boston, like other industrial cities of the North Atlantic Coast, has a large foreign-born population. According to the 1920 census figures for Boston, 46.4 per cent of the males twenty-one years of age and over were of foreign birth.<sup>1</sup> The preponderance of foreign-born families in the present study is due in part to the fact that the Boston Central Juvenile Court has jurisdiction only over the central part of the city, where many of the foreign-born live. In this connection, however, it should be noted that only about one-half of the children included in the study lived within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Court. The homes of the other half were scattered over the rest of the city, the Boston metropolitan district, and the rest of the state, and included a small number from outside Massachusetts. The children came under the jurisdiction of the Central

<sup>1</sup> *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, Vol. III, *Population*, p. 457 (Washington, 1922).

Juvenile Court because they had committed offenses within the territory over which it had jurisdiction.

The preponderance of children of foreign-born parents in the group studied may have been caused not only by the preponderance of foreign-born in the population of the Court district, but by a tendency which has been observed for children of the foreign-born to appear before juvenile courts in larger proportions than those of native parentage. It is probably not necessary to point out that not all delinquent children are brought before juvenile courts. Not even all children who are seriously delinquent are registered by juvenile courts. Since the function of such a court is not to punish the children brought before it, but, by assisting in solving their conduct problems, to prevent their future delinquency, the children brought to the court would in general be those whose parents need the assistance of the court. Foreign-born parents, especially those from non-English-speaking countries, who are struggling with the problems of social, economic, and cultural adjustment to a strange environment, find themselves more frequently unable to cope with the behavior problems of their children than native-born parents. As a consequence, the services of the court are enlisted more often for the children of foreign-born parents than for the children of native-born parents. On the other hand, since native and English-speaking parents are more frequently able to handle the conduct problems of their children, the children of such parents who come to the attention of the juvenile court are more likely to be seriously delinquent or to come from homes in which conditions are very unfavorable.

The territory over which the Court has jurisdiction includes a large Italian district. This nationality therefore is foremost among the foreign-born fathers of the delinquent children studied, representing 39 per cent, though in the foreign-born population of the city as a whole only 16 per cent were from Italy. Twenty-seven per cent of the foreign-born fathers came from Great Britain and its possessions (14 per cent from Ireland and 13 per cent from Great Britain and Canada); whereas in the foreign-born population of the city as a whole 24 per cent were from Ireland and 25 per cent from Great Britain and Canada. There was an important Jewish tenement district in the Court's territory, which accounts for the 12 per cent of the fathers who were Jews from Poland or Russia. Smaller numbers

were from Poland, Russia, or some other Slavic country, and a few were from Germany, Scandinavia, Lithuania, and Eastern Europe, including Greece and Syria.

Most of the children's fathers who were living had arrived at middle age by the time the child appeared in court; that is, nearly three-fourths were between forty and sixty years of age.

#### ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS OF FATHERS

The occupations in which the fathers were employed serve as one indication of their economic status. Of the 1,575 fathers who were working and contributing to the family support, 670 (43 per cent) were employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries as mechanics, factory operatives, laborers, and in other occupations. About one-fifth of the 670 were factory operatives, and about one-fourth were skilled workmen, such as carpenters, plumbers, and painters. The skilled trades were also represented by tailors, shoecobblers, machinists, and stationary firemen. Thirteen per cent of the total number were engaged in occupations which the Census classifies as "trade." Among these were proprietors of wholesale and retail stores or stands and fruit and vegetable hucksters. The number of peddlers, 41 (2.5 per cent), was much larger than would be expected according to Census figures for the employed male population of the city. A considerable number, 210 (13 per cent), were in occupations classified under transportation and included 76 who were chauffeurs, teamsters, or drivers. Ten per cent of the total number were employed in domestic and personal service (that is, as janitors, barbers, waiters, and in similar occupations); 12 per cent were unskilled laborers for whom no special industry was reported; and the remainder were in miscellaneous occupations. In all, 335 fathers were classed as laborers, including those for whom the industry was reported. This proportion (21 per cent) was much higher than that (8 per cent) among the total employed male population of the city. Only a small proportion of those in this study (3 per cent as compared with 15 per cent of the total male population) were in clerical or professional occupations.<sup>1</sup>

The relatively low economic status of the families included in the

<sup>1</sup> *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920), Vol. IV, Population, Occupations*, pp. 133-49 (Washington, 1923).

study is more clearly indicated by the fact that many of them were known to social service agencies other than the Court and the Judge Baker Foundation. Among the 582 families for which more detailed information was obtained, 409 (70 per cent) were registered at the Social Service Exchange by some social agency, including relief, medical, child-caring, and other types of agency. It is probable, however, that among the other families where the father was not alcoholic the proportion known to agencies was not so large.

#### ALCOHOLIC HISTORY OF PARENTS

Information in regard to alcoholism was obtained for all but 74 of the 2,155 families studied. A large proportion of the children's own fathers (41 per cent) but only a small proportion of their own mothers (7 per cent) were reported to be alcoholic. All these fathers and mothers were reported to have been alcoholic at some time, but some were not alcoholic at the time that the child was referred to the clinic. In only 6 per cent of the families were both parents known to have a record of alcoholism. A history of alcoholism was much more common among the parents of delinquent children of native and other English-speaking nationalities than among delinquents of Italian and Jewish parentage (Table I). Fifty-nine per cent of the fathers who were born in Ireland, Canada, and other British possessions, and 49 per cent of those who were native born had alcoholic histories. More than 60 per cent of the Polish and Lithuanian fathers were alcoholic, but only 29 per cent of the Italian and 7 per cent of the Jewish fathers.

None of the Italian or Jewish mothers was reported as intemperate at any time; but 19 per cent of the mothers born in Ireland, 13 per cent of those born in the United States, and about the same proportion of those born in other English-speaking countries had a record of alcoholism. These figures bear out the impression prevalent among some social workers that alcoholism among Italian and Jewish women is extremely rare but that among women of Irish, English, and American origin intemperance, although unusual, is sufficiently frequent to constitute a problem.

Unfortunately no figures about the alcoholism of parents of delinquent children in other cities are available for comparison with these Boston figures.

TABLE I  
ALCOHOLIC HISTORY OF OWN FATHERS AND OWN MOTHERS BY COLOR AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH

COLOR AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FATHERS					MOTHERS							
	Alcoholism Re-ported	Alcoholic		Non-alcoholic		Alcoholism Re-ported	Alcoholic		Non-alcoholic				
		Num-ber	Per Cent*	Num-ber	Per Cent*		Num-ber	Per Cent*	Num-ber	Per Cent*			
Total	2,155	2,063	850	41.2	1,213	58.8	92	2,155	2,081	7.4	92.6	74	
White	2,030	1,965	803	40.9	1,162	59.1	74	2,048	1,988	7.5	92.5	60	
United States	404	392	191	48.7	201	51.3	12	397	385	12.5	337	12	
Italy	613	603	174	28.9	429	71.1	10	597	590	100.0	590	7	
Russia and Poland:													
Jewish	104	100	14	7.4	176	92.6	4	103	100	100.0	100	3	
Polish	102	98	61	62.2	37	37.8	4	104	100	13.0	87	4	
Other	21	20	15	75.0	5	25.0	1	19	18	100.0	16	1	
Great Britain and possessions:													
Ireland	214	213	130	61.0	83	39.0	1	249	246	47	19.1	109	3
England	52	49	21	42.9	28	57.1	3	35	35	100.0	30	3	
Canada	52	52	29	55.8	23	44.2	3	48	48	100.0	44	3	
Canadian Maritime Provinces	107	103	65	63.1	38	36.9	4	121	117	14	12.0	103	4
Other foreign countries	212	202	82	40.6	120	59.4	10	203	198	12	6.1	186	9
Country not reported	68	43	21	48.8	22	51.2	25	82	61	4	6.6	57	2
Negro	109	92	42	45.7	50	54.3	17	99	89	2	2.2	87	10
Other colored	4	4	3	75.0	1	25.0	3	3	3	100.0	1	1	4
Color not reported	3	2	2	100.0	1	50.0	1	5	1	20.0	1	1	4

\* Not shown when base is less than 50.








## RELATION OF ALCOHOLISM TO OTHER PARENTAL FACTORS

## STATUS OF PARENTS AND TYPE OF HOME

Although nearly three-fifths of the children included in the present study belonged to normal families (that is, to families in which both their own parents were living together), a large number came from families which had been disrupted by death, desertion, separation, or divorce. The parents of 41 per cent of the 2,371 children

## CHART I

STATUS OF OWN PARENTS OF 2,371 CHILDREN REFERRED TO JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION JULY 1, 1917, TO JUNE 30, 1925, FOR WHOM SUCH STATUS WAS REPORTED AT DATE CHILD WAS REFERRED

Status of own parents	Per cent distribution	
Living together*	59.3	
Father dead	15.4	
Mother dead	10.6	
Divorced or separated	6.4	
One or both deserting†	4.1	
Both dead	2.3	
Other	1.9	

\* Includes 1.1 per cent of families in which children were not living with parents when referred.

† Excludes 1.2 per cent of families in which one parent was dead and the other deserting.

about whom this information was obtained either were dead or not living together or had not been married at the time the child was sent to the clinic. The death of one parent had frequently disrupted the family; but desertion, divorce, and informal separation were also important. Both parents of 2 per cent, the fathers of 15 per cent, and the mothers of 11 per cent of the children were dead at the time the child came to the clinic. One or both parents, usually the father only, of 4 per cent of the children had deserted at the time the child came to the clinic; the parents of 6 per cent of the children were separated or legally divorced.

The proportion of children of unselected groups, among whom there may be a small percentage of delinquents, who come from normal homes is larger than the proportion among these children, according to figures collected in other studies. In a study made of the marital relations of the parents of 3,198 children who attended three New York public schools, 81 per cent were living in normal homes.<sup>1</sup> According to a Bureau study, a similar proportion (78 per cent) of 4,192 boys engaged in street trades in four large cities, including a very small percentage who had court records, were living with both their own parents.<sup>2</sup>

Delinquent children, however, in other cities, like children in the present study, much more frequently than non-delinquents in the New York and street-trades studies, come from broken homes. Comparative figures showing the number of delinquent children living with both own parents are not available, and there are no figures for the parental status of all children dealt with by the Boston Juvenile Court. According to figures collected by the Children's Bureau for 10,845 delinquent children dealt with in one year by juvenile courts in seven other cities, 60 per cent were living in homes either with both of their own parents or with one of their own parents and one step-parent;<sup>3</sup> in the present study 68 per cent of the children were living in homes of this kind (58 per cent with both parents and 10 per cent with one of their own parents and one step-parent).

The lack of normal parental guidance caused by the disruption of the family is generally considered to be closely associated with juvenile delinquency, since it reflects the necessity for community assistance in dealing with conduct problems which parents usually deal with without court assistance.

Alcoholism was undoubtedly one of the many causes that contributed to the break-up of the home and that deprived the children in this study of normal family relationships. A larger proportion of

<sup>1</sup> John Slawson, "Marital Relations of Parents and Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Delinquency* (Whittier, California), VIII, Nos. 5-6 (September-November, 1924), 279.

<sup>2</sup> *Children in Street Work* (U.S. Children's Bureau publication, in press).

<sup>3</sup> *Juvenile Courts at Work*, p. 225. U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 141 (Washington, 1925).



fathers who were dead or who were not living with the mothers at the time the child came to the Foundation had a previous record of alcoholism than of fathers in families where the parental status was normal; 47 per cent of the fathers not with the family at the time the child came to the clinic had a former record of alcoholism, compared with 37 per cent of the fathers who were in the home (Table II). In families that were broken by the death of the mother, intemperance was relatively unimportant; a slightly larger proportion of the 390 fathers who had died (44 per cent) than of fathers living in the home had a record of alcoholism; but a much larger proportion (70 per cent) of 223 fathers who had deserted or were living apart from the mothers had an alcoholic history (Table II). Mothers also who were not living with the fathers, including the few who had deserted, were more likely than the others to have a history of intemperance; 15 per cent of those not living with the fathers, compared with 6 per cent of those living with the fathers, had been alcoholic at some time in their lives.

One of the explanations of the high percentage of alcoholism among fathers who had deserted or were separated from their families may be that desertion, divorce, and separation were comparatively rare among families of non-English-speaking nationalities, and alcoholism also was less common among fathers of these nationalities, except those of Polish or other Slavic origin. Sixteen per cent of the parents who were born in the United States or in the British possessions were separated, divorced, or deserting, as compared with 6 per cent of the parents from other countries. This difference strengthens the belief that children of American and other English-speaking nationalities are not so likely as children of other nationalities to come to the attention of the juvenile court, unless their homes are broken and parental guidance is lacking.<sup>1</sup> In any case the high

<sup>1</sup> Chicago figures on distribution of desertion cases by nativity of husband in comparison with population, 1921, indicate that in general desertion is relatively less prevalent among white families of English-speaking origin than among those of non-English-speaking stock. Nationalities with a comparatively high percentage of desertion were the Polish, Russian, Italian, Austrian, and Greek. However, it is pointed out that these families are characteristically of low economic status and that the economic factor rather than the nationality factor may be fundamental (Ernest R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization, An Introduction to Sociological Analysis* [University of Chicago Press, 1927], pp. 95-96).

TABLE II  
RELATIONSHIP OF ALCOHOLIC HISTORY OF OWN FATHER TO STATUS OF PARENTS

STATES OF PARENTS	ALL FAMILIES	OWN FATHERS					
		Alcoholism Reported	Alcoholic		Non-alcoholic		Alcoholism Not Reported
			Number	Per Cent*	Number	Per Cent*	
Total	2,155	2,063	850	41.2	1,213	58.8	92
Living together	1,240	1,232	461	37.4	771	62.6	17
Not living together	809	829	387	46.7	442	53.3	70
Both dead	52	44	20	.....	24	.....	8
Father dead	338	322	141	43.8	181	56.2	16
Mother dead	231	220	64	29.1	156	70.9	11
Both deserting	10	2	.....	.....	2	.....	8
Father deserting	72	71	58	81.7	13	18.3	1
Mother deserting	11	11	6	.....	5	.....	.....
Divorced or legally separated	78	75	44	58.7	31	41.3	3
Separated, not legally, or legality not reported	63	59	42	71.2	17	28.8	4
Never married	33	14	7	.....	7	.....	19
Other	11	11	5	.....	6	.....	.....
Unknown or not reported	7	2	2	.....	.....	.....	5

\* Not shown when base is less than 50.

proportion of fathers deserting or separated from their families, who had records of intemperance, is significant.

#### NON-SUPPORT AND DESERTION OF FATHER

The fathers of many of the delinquent children included in the study were non-supporters, and many of those who were non-supporters were also alcoholic. Some fathers who were living at home and were supporting the mother and children at the time the child was referred to the clinic had a previous record of non-support and desertion; others who were living at home were not supporting their families. "Non-support" is used to include both cases in which court action for non-support had been taken and cases in which, according to the mother's statement or the report of a social agency, the father had failed to contribute to the family support. Of the total number of fathers included in the study who were living at the time the child came to the Foundation and for whom reports were obtained, 25 per cent had deserted or were not supporting their families at the time of the study, or had deserted and had not supported their families at some earlier date (Table III). In families where the parental status was normal, 14 per cent of the fathers either did not support their families at the time the child was referred to the clinic or had a former record of non-support or desertion. About one-half (260) of the living fathers who were not in the home with the mothers at the time the child was referred to the Foundation had deserted or failed to support their families at some time; 82 of these had deserted and were still absent from their families at the time the child was referred to the Foundation. That alcoholism is closely related to the problem of non-support is indicated by the fact that of 392 fathers reported as failing to support or deserting their families, 79 per cent were known to be alcoholic either at the time the child was referred to the clinic or in the past.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHER

The alcoholism of the father, his failure to support, the employment of the mother, and the consequently greater difficulty that the mother experienced in giving adequate supervision to her children, often occurred in the same family. Of the 1,896 mothers who were



living with the children or supporting them and for whom employment information was obtained, 631 (33 per cent) were employed. In the 1,249 families in which the father and the mother were living together—and in most of which the father was employed—20 per cent of the mothers were also employed or kept boarders or lodgers. In average wage-earners' families the proportion of employed mothers is much smaller. In a study of sources of income, for example, made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and based on the families of wage-earners and small-salaried men, the proportion of the 407 families included in the study in Boston who derived income from the earnings of the wife was only 10 per cent; and from keeping lodgers, 4 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the 631 employed mothers in the present study were working outside the home, and probably few of those employed at home could be expected to find time to give their children adequate attention. Of the mothers who were employed in domestic and personal service (three-fifths of the employed mothers for whom occupation was reported), some worked full time; others worked irregular hours in private families, restaurants, or hotels, or worked at night cleaning offices; others (56) kept boarders or roomers. One hundred and fifty-two (one-fourth of the total) were engaged in occupations classified by the Census as manufacturing and mechanical; of these, 71 were factory operatives and had regular hours. A few of the others in these occupations worked at home, sewing or "finishing pants." Some of those who had worked in the family store (40 in all) might also be considered to be working at home, since the "store" was often a room in front of the living quarters.

That the endeavor of the mother to supplement the income was caused in part by the father's failure to provide for the family is indicated by the fact that in families in which the fathers were not supporting the family 60 per cent of the mothers were working, as compared with 20 per cent in families in which the fathers were supporting the family. The alcoholism of the father was closely associated with his failure to provide, which led the mother to work. Thirty-three per cent of the mothers in families in which the father

<sup>1</sup> *Monthly Labor Review* (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics), IX, No. 6 (December, 1919), 31, 36.

or the person taking the father's place was alcoholic were employed; about half this proportion of mothers were employed in families in which the father was not alcoholic.

RELATION OF ALCOHOLISM OF PARENTS  
TO CHILD'S DELINQUENCY

Since it was desired to know whether or not alcoholism of the parents was a problem in the home life of the child at the time he was delinquent, and might therefore be associated with his behavior, inquiry was made as to whether the parent was alcoholic during the year before the date on which the Court referred the child to the Judge Baker Foundation clinic. The children are usually sent to the clinic a few days after they are brought into Court, but the information secured about the parent's intemperance does not necessarily refer to the parent's habits at the time the child first became delinquent, since the Court seldom refers boys to the clinic until their second or third offense, which may be several years after their first appearance in Court. Girls are usually referred to the Foundation for psychiatric examination when they appear in Court for the first time. Some parents who had a former record of alcoholism were no longer intemperate at the time the child was referred to the clinic, and many more were no longer in the home.

When the child's own father was absent, information was obtained about the alcoholism of the step-parent or relative taking his place in the family. Fathers or persons taking the father's place in 20 per cent of the 2,155 families included in the study were reported to be alcoholic during the year preceding the date the child was referred to the clinic; 4 per cent of the mothers or persons taking the mother's place were reported to be alcoholic during this period. In many families (477 of the 2,155) there was no father or person taking the father's place when the child was referred to the Foundation. In few of these families therefore was intemperance a problem at the time, although it may have been in the past.

Although the information obtained showed no relation between the types of offense for which a child was brought to court and the intemperance of the parents, the alcoholism of the parents was associated with the number of times a child appeared in court. Repeaters

(children who get into court more than once) were more likely than first-offenders to come from homes in which alcoholism was a problem.

The fact that a child is referred to court several times does not necessarily mean that he is as serious a behavior problem as some of the children who have been in court only once. The more serious offenders on their first appearance are often committed to the state training schools or to child-caring agencies, and hence do not have the opportunity to get into further difficulties. Many of the boys included in the study were repeaters, but only a small percentage of the girls (17 per cent of those who had reached the age of seventeen years) had been in court more than once while of juvenile-court age. Of the 1,123 boys included in the study who had reached the age of seventeen years, after which they would not be brought into the juvenile court under the Massachusetts law,<sup>1</sup> 69 per cent had been in court at least twice, including 47 per cent who had appeared in court three times or more.<sup>2</sup> These figures include the number of times the children were in the Boston Central Juvenile Court and in the juvenile sessions of other courts exercising jurisdiction within the city limits or in the metropolitan district. Table IV correlates the alcoholism of the father or person taking the father's place during the year that the boy was referred to the Foundation with the number of times the boy was brought into court.

Unquestionably the alcoholism of the father was associated with the more frequent appearance of the boys in court; 33 per cent of the boys from homes where the father or person taking the father's place was not alcoholic were first-offenders, whereas only 19 per cent of the boys from homes where the father was reported alcoholic during the year before the boys' examination at the Foundation were first-offenders. Conversely, 67 per cent of the boys who had non-alcoholic fathers, compared with 81 per cent of those whose fathers

<sup>1</sup> In Boston the Juvenile Court had jurisdiction over children under seventeen years of age, and its jurisdiction continued until they were eighteen years of age if they became seventeen while adjudication was pending or during continuance, or after cases were placed on file (*Massachusetts General Laws* [1921], chap. 119, sec. 72).

<sup>2</sup> It was to be expected that the percentage of repeaters would be high, inasmuch as it is not the policy of the court to refer boys who are first offenders to the Foundation unless some special problem appears to exist.





were alcoholic, were repeaters. All but 4 of the 43 boys whose mothers were alcoholic were repeaters. The average number of appearances in court for boys from homes where the father or person taking the father's place was alcoholic was greater than for boys from homes where the father or person taking the father's place was not alcoholic—3.6 times in court for the former and 2.9 times for the latter.<sup>1</sup> The children placed on probation by the Court are the children the judge thinks can be set straight without commitment if the parents will co-operate with the Court in the supervision of the delinquent child. The foregoing figures seem to indicate that such co-operation can be secured much less frequently from alcoholic than from non-alcoholic fathers.

INCIDENCE OF ALCOHOLISM AMONG FATHERS BEFORE AND AFTER  
NATIONAL PROHIBITION

The information secured concerning the relative incidence of alcoholism among the parents of the delinquent children before and after prohibition is based on the percentage of alcoholism among the fathers of the children who were referred by the judge of the Boston Central Juvenile Court to the Judge Baker Foundation in each of the eight years covered by the study, and also on the supplementary inquiry as to the facts with reference to 582 fathers who had alcoholic records and were alive and either living with the family or known to be living in Massachusetts at the time the child came to the Foundation. In this supplementary inquiry, for purposes of comparison, inquiry was made to find out whether or not the father had been alcoholic during the 12 months prior to July 1, 1919, the date when the war prohibition act went into effect, and during the 12 months preceding July 1, 1925.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Average number of appearances in court, boys of alcoholic fathers . . . 3.61 ± .12

Average number of appearances in court, boys of non-alcoholic fathers 2.85 ± .06

Difference . . . . . 0.76 ± .13

<sup>2</sup> The national war prohibition law went into effect July 1, 1919, and the provisions of the Volstead Act became effective when the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified by three-fourths of the states, January 17, 1920. The enforcement of the federal law in Massachusetts was facilitated after November 4, 1924, when a state law on the manufacture and transportation of liquor went into effect, after a referendum, which required the same permit or other authority as that necessary under the federal law (*Massachusetts Acts of 1923*, chap. 370; results of referendum given in *Massachusetts Acts of 1925*, pp. 484-87).

TABLE V  
ALCOHOLISM OF MALE CHIEF BREADWINNER DURING YEAR PRECEDING THE DATE CHILD WAS REFERRED TO  
JUDGE BAKER FOUNDATION, BY YEAR OF CHILD'S REFERENCE

YEAR REFERRED	TOTAL CHILDREN	ALCOHOLISM OF MALE CHIEF BREADWINNER						
		Total Applicable Reported	Alcoholic		Non-alcoholic		Not Reported	Inapplicable (No Male Chief Breadwinner in Family)
			Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent		
Total.....	2,378	1,903	525	27.6	1,378	72.4	27	448
July 1, 1917-June 30, 1918.....	483	387	127	32.8	260	67.2	8	88
July 1, 1918-June 30, 1919.....	412	322	132	41.0	190	59.0	2	88
July 1, 1919-June 30, 1920.....	286	213	62	29.1	151	70.9	3	70
July 1, 1920-June 30, 1921.....	240	190	33	17.4	157	82.6	1	49
July 1, 1921-June 30, 1922.....	216	177	28	15.8	149	84.2	5	34
July 1, 1922-June 30, 1923.....	232	195	52	26.7	143	73.3	.....	37
July 1, 1923-June 30, 1924.....	244	202	42	20.8	160	79.2	4	38
July 1, 1924-June 30, 1925.....	265	217	49	22.6	168	77.4	4	44

ALCOHOLISM AMONG FATHERS OF CHILDREN REFERRED TO CLINIC,  
1917-25

That the fathers of the delinquent children are somewhat less likely to be alcoholic at the present time than they were before 1920 is indicated by the proportion of the 2,378 children included in the study whose fathers were reported to be alcoholic in each of the years between 1917 and 1925. According to Table V, 33 per cent of the fathers of children referred to the Foundation in the year ended June 30, 1918, for whom the information was reported, were alcoholic during the year before the child came to the clinic, and 41 per cent of those referred during the year ended June 30, 1919. In the year immediately following prohibition the percentages reported alcoholic dropped to 29, and in the two succeeding years to 17 and 16 respectively. In each of the next three years the percentage of fathers reported alcoholic was greater than the 1920-21 and 1921-22 percentages but was well below the figures for the years preceding prohibition.

The proportions of the different nationalities referred during these eight years were remarkably uniform from year to year. Although somewhat more children whose fathers were of Italian birth and somewhat fewer whose fathers were of English-speaking nationalities were referred in 1917-18 than in 1918-19, there was no marked variation in the proportions of the different nationalities from year to year. The differences in the percentages of fathers reported alcoholic in the eight years, therefore, cannot be explained by differences in the proportion of nationalities referred in the several years. Neither is there reason to suppose that the numbers of fathers for whom this inquiry was inapplicable (that is, fathers who were dead or whose whereabouts was unknown or who were outside the state, a proportion about the same from year to year) would affect the figures.

The trend of alcoholism among the fathers of the children included in this study is similar to that which appears in families known to the Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children.<sup>1</sup> Prior to national prohibition, intemperance was present

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Forty-fifth Annual Report (1925)*, pp. 21, 22.

in the homes of 47.7 per cent of the families known to this society; in 1921 the percentage had dropped to 16.8. In 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1925, the percentages of families in which intemperance was a factor were 20.2, 23.2, 21.9, and 18.9 respectively. Similarly, figures for arrests for drunkenness in Boston show that the number of persons arrested for this reason, in each of the last six years, was much less than the number prior to 1919, although since 1921 the number has been greater than it was in 1920, the year immediately following prohibition.<sup>1</sup>

ALCOHOLISM OF SELECTED GROUP OF FATHERS,  
1918-19 AND 1924-25

In 850 of the 2,155 families included in the study the child's own father was reported to have been alcoholic at some time during his life. Many of these had died or had disappeared at the time the child was referred to the clinic, and in some families their places had been taken by stepfathers or foster-fathers. In 582 families the own father or the person taking his place was reported as alcoholic at some time and was living with his family or somewhere in the state outside an institution during 1918-19 or at the time the child was referred to the clinic. In this group of 582 families nearly all the nationalities included in the study were represented, but there were relatively more English-speaking fathers and relatively fewer Italian and Jewish fathers than there were among the 2,155 families. Fathers from English-speaking countries and native fathers whose nationality was reported formed nearly one-half the total number; Italian fathers were less than one-fourth. Among the remainder were a considerable number of Poles and Lithuanians and a few Germans, Scandinavians, and Greeks. As the figures presented on page 363 show, the majority of the fathers included in the study had reached an age when habits, once formed, are not readily changed.

Among the 582 fathers or persons taking the father's place who had been intemperate at some time in their lives, 469 were reported to have been alcoholic during 1918-19. Information about alcohol-

<sup>1</sup> Arrests for drunkenness in Boston for the last 10 years, according to figures secured from the Boston police commissioner for the years ending November 30, 1916, to November 30, 1925, inclusive, were as follows: 1916, 65,051; 1917, 73,393; 1918, 54,948; 1919, 35,540; 1920, 21,800; 1921, 30,987; 1922, 37,643; 1923, 38,988; 1924, 39,536; 1925, 38,882.

ism during 1924-25 was secured for 364 of these 469 fathers; 71 per cent of those who had been alcoholic in 1918-19 were still alcoholic during 1924-25. Twenty-nine per cent were not alcoholic (Table VI). Of the 105 for whom information was not secured, 45 were dead or out of the state or in an institution or jail. For 60 fathers the desired facts could not be learned because the family had moved and the address could not be found or because they lived too far from the city to visit or because when they were visited the information could not be obtained. Of the 59 fathers who had been alcoholic at some

TABLE VI  
ALCOHOLISM OF MALE CHIEF BREADWINNER IN 1918-19 COMPARED WITH  
1924-25 IN FAMILIES SELECTED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY

ALCOHOLISM OF MALE CHIEF BREADWINNER, JULY 1, 1918-JULY 1, 1919	FAMILIES SELECTED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY				
	Total	Alcoholism of Male Chief Breadwinner, July 1, 1924-July 1, 1925			
		Alcoholic	Non-alcoholic	Not Reported	Inapplicable*
Total.....	582	268	151	106	57
Alcoholic.....	469	257	107	60	45
Non-alcoholic.....	59	6	35	15	3
Not reported.....	52	5	8	31	8
Inapplicable.....	2	.....	1	.....	1

\* Thirty-two dead; 15 living outside of the state; 3 in institutions; 7 whereabouts unknown.

time but were not intemperate during 1918-19, only 6 were known to have been alcoholic during 1924-25.

The 107 fathers or persons taking the father's place who had a history of intemperance but who were no longer intemperate in 1924-25 may be understated, even when it is taken into consideration that the mothers' statements about their habits often could not be verified and may sometimes have been unreliable. In general when the mother's statements could be verified they were corroborated by the reports from social agencies and court records.

Definite information about the fathers whose alcoholism was serious was not hard to obtain, because either they had been arrested or the family situation was known to social agencies. Court records for drunkenness were found for many of these fathers in the files of the Massachusetts Probation Commission or at the local courts.

Doubtless other fathers, whose names on account of differences in spelling could not be identified, had court records. Among the 582 fathers, 205 had had court records for drunkenness at some time since 1914; 66 of these were brought into court on this charge between July, 1924, and July, 1925. Nineteen of the 31 who were reported as alcoholic between 1922 and 1924, but for whom a later report could not be secured, had been arrested for drunkenness at some time during the two-year period. The desired facts were much more difficult to obtain concerning fathers who, according to the mothers' previous statements, were alcoholic but were not the type to get drunk outside the home and come to the attention of the police or the courts, or who were not drunk often enough to interfere with their earnings and the support of their families. Among the fathers for whom information could not be obtained for the two periods under consideration were 9 whom social workers or others believed to be no longer alcoholic during 1924-25, though no facts to confirm this impression were available. Eight of those for whom no information was obtained for the period 1918-19 were reported as not alcoholic during 1924-25.

Information about changes in the habits of some of the fathers in the period between 1919 and 1925 was obtained in the course of interviews with the parents and from agency and court records. Sometimes a father who was frequently drunk at the time prohibition went into effect continued to be drunk frequently up to the date of the study in 1925. Others who had stopped drinking for a short period in 1920 and 1921 later relapsed into their former habits; still others, not so numerous, ceased to be intemperate after 1919 and up to 1925 had not again become alcoholic.

Of the many examples of each one of these situations which might be given, a few may be cited. The court history of one father indicates that his habits did not change during the whole period. He was brought into court twenty-five times on charges of drunkenness between 1914 and 1924, eight times before July 1, 1919. After this date he appeared in court on the same charge, once in 1919, once in 1920, three times in 1921, six times in 1922, three times in 1923, and three times in 1924.

The father who stopped drinking in 1920 or 1921 and then start-



ed in again is perhaps more typical. One father, for example, according to the mother's statement at the time she came to the clinic with the boy in October, 1919, no longer came home drunk every Saturday night as he had done in 1918; but when the family was visited in 1925, the father was drunk as often as he had been formerly. In another family both parents, according to the record of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, were intemperate in 1917 and 1918 but did not drink the year immediately following prohibition, although they later relapsed. The court had removed the children from this home on a charge of neglect in 1917; in 1920, when neither parent was intemperate, the home was re-established. By December, 1920, the father was again in court for drunkenness; in 1922 the mother was in court on the same charge. The next year both parents were known to be drinking heavily. In October, 1923, the father left the mother and stopped drinking; up to 1925 he had not relapsed into his former habits. The mother continued to be alcoholic, was arrested twice in 1924 for drunkenness, and at the time the follow-up inquiry was made, was serving a three-month sentence for drunkenness at the state farm. In still another family where both parents also had former records of alcoholism, the father was alcoholic during 1918-19 and 1924-25, but had reformed for a time. The court had taken away the children from the parents on a neglect charge in 1916 but returned them in October, 1919, as the mother had kept the pledge not to drink, which she had taken in April of that year. In 1923 when the Family-Welfare Society made a special inquiry to learn whether the parents were still sober and taking proper care of the children, their visitor found that neither parent had been intemperate since 1919. During the follow-up inquiry for the present study in 1925, a relative, the parish priest, and the mother were interviewed. As far as could be learned, the mother was still not alcoholic; she said, however, that although the father had improved since prohibition, he occasionally became intoxicated.

In other families, fathers who had reformed after 1919 had not relapsed into intemperate habits in 1925. One father, for example, who had been in poor physical condition as a result of heavy and long-continued drinking and who in 1922 received hospital treatment after being poisoned by bad liquor, had then given up alcohol.

He had deserted his family and in 1919 was brought into court on a charge of non-support. According to information obtained through a home visit in August, 1925, the father was still living apart from the family but was temperate, in excellent health, and employed as foreman in a lumber company. He was earning \$60 a week and was paying \$25 a week regularly toward the family support.

#### CONCLUSION

The alcoholism of the parents, according to the figures presented in this study, is associated with juvenile delinquency, although in the absence of any comparable information about the incidence of alcoholism among parents of non-delinquent children, or even among parents of unselected groups of delinquent children, it is impossible to arrive at definite conclusions as to its relative importance. Alcoholism was found to be associated with the disruption of the family home and with the desertion and non-support of the family by the father. Failure to support the family and alcoholism on the part of the father were closely related to the employment of the mother; and the employment of the mother—particularly in the lower wage-earning group—usually results in less adequate care and guidance of the children. The information obtained showed that alcoholism was associated with the number of times a child appeared in court, repeaters being more likely than first-offenders to come from homes in which alcoholism was a problem.

Alcoholism presented, even in 1925, a considerable problem among the parents of delinquent children in Boston, although during recent years the incidence of alcoholism among the fathers has been considerably less than in the years before 1919.

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## SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF CHARLES BOOTH

**A**LTHOUGH the small volume *Charles Booth: A Memoir*, which appeared in 1918, contains less than two hundred pages, and the unsigned obituary notice published in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* for January, 1917, is compressed into five pages, they give a singularly complete and true impression of both the man and his work. The former, written by his wife, and the latter, by Ernest Aves, his trusted co-worker throughout the seventeen years during which the inquiry into *Life and Labour of the People in London* was conducted and reported on, are based on the most intimate knowledge of his character and motives. The unswerving sincerity and essential simplicity of aim were so conspicuous to all who knew Charles Booth that, notwithstanding the multiplicity of his interests, and the large numbers of persons with conflicting views with whom he had to deal, his biographers had only a straightforward tale to tell of continuous and strenuous effort toward the solution of social problems and of the well springs from which he drew his strength and renewed his energy.

In recalling for the benefit of future investigators those qualities in Charles Booth which especially fitted him for the task he assumed, I propose to use his seven volumes on *Religious Influences* as my textbook, and to draw on my long experience of departmental work to emphasize the truth that most of his work could never have been carried out by governmental inquiry.

To begin with, a proposal to grant money for a statistical record of impressions of degrees of poverty, however accurately obtained, would never have survived departmental criticism. Nor could such an inquiry have been successfully carried out by civil service methods, which involve, in any work covering the whole of a wide area, the delegation of routine work to routine workers. Now Charles Booth employed hardly any routine workers, and there was no section of work in which he did not take part. He was resolved to make use of no fact to which he could not give a quantitative value, but the tests used to measure the degree of poverty in each case described

by the school board visitors were to be uniform throughout and were to be his own. Only when he was secure that his delegate had fully grasped his mode of judging would he release himself. He was not aiming merely at producing an accurate statistical table. He wished to acquire a true feeling of the different masses of the burdens of poverty in the classes which he distinguished as very poor, poor, and above the line of poverty. Men of letters are not attentive to the letters of the alphabet or even to orthography; and statisticians of Charles Booth's type are not thinking of figures, but of the meaning behind them.

This brings me to what should always characterize statisticians: respect for the ordinary. People in whom this quality is strongly developed either acquire through its practice or originally possess a marked faculty for distinguishing in each ordinary case what is peculiar to that case. Everyone is in some particulars different from everyone else, and this power of appreciating an ordinary person's separate personality is of the greatest value in an investigator. This power Charles Booth possessed in the highest degree. It was combined with what is perhaps an allied power, that of really keeping an open mind for the reception of new truth without any vacillation of judgment on the already known. Without those qualities the inquiry into the response of the poorest classes to religious influences could not have been carried out. It lasted three years, from 1897 to 1900, every church, chapel, and mission in every parish of London being passed under review.

Written answers to questions put to the ministers in charge, his own or his co-workers' attendance at services, and interviews with nearly all the responsible heads of churches of whatever denomination formed the basis of the report written by Charles Booth himself in such a way that everyone could find and test the truth of the reports on nearly every church of his own denomination in London. The Poverty Map of London of 1889 was revised and much enlarged, and the revised map, cut into sections, is bound up with these volumes at the end of each section. Admirably clear tables giving the population and social classification statistics in one page precede the sectional reports, and each volume can be used as a kind of Baedeker for students of life in London. At first the reader begins to fear mo-

notony; gradually the monotony becomes a background throwing into relief each human group in which some spiritual life is at work. As we go on we feel that the writer never loses faith in the possibility of divine forces revealing themselves in the least likely conditions.

In Volume VI of *Religious Influences* is a very full account of "Unity Sunday" on Peckham Rye, where we find him constantly returning to the platform of a preaching bookseller of Paternoster Row.

It was clear that the speaker, whatever else he might be, was a man's man. . . . He was speaking when I arrived at 3:30, and he went on till about a quarter past five with no break, save from the interruptions of his hearers. These interruptions are clearly a recognized part of the proceedings and do much to make the success of the meetings, for this man is a master of rough repartee. . . . There was a good deal of broad liberality in his teaching, and it is noteworthy that he had not joined in the Unity Sunday demonstration, but whatever his doctrinal position may be, he is a very practical Christian. . . . Striking and significant were his remarks about attendance at church or chapel. He did not know, he said, what those around him might be going to do that evening, but don't let them make the mistake of thinking that they could get to heaven by going to a prayer meeting with a Bible under their arm. Then he broke out (he had a huge voice at times): "Go to the friend you've played false to, and ask his forgiveness," and then, in subdued accents, "It'll be better than going to church or chapel." Again, with a roar, "Go and take back that hammer you've sneaked" (and quietly), "It will be better than going to church or chapel." (Another roar): "Go to the woman you've deceived or been hard on, and tell her you've been a miserable cur, and ask her to give you another chance"; (once more) "It will be better than going to church or chapel." At such moments there were no interruptions. There was stuff in the words and a man behind them, and the people felt it.

In Fulham is discovered "a little family tabernacle—of which the committee includes two dustmen, three cabmen, three bakers' barrowmen, and a coster; of which the church secretary is the foreman of the barrowmen; and the only well-to-do members are a cabmaster and the lady who owns the bakery—this little tabernacle; with overflowing life, aims at nothing less than the union of Christendom in apostolic faith, and meanwhile throws itself, heart and soul, into progressive politics."

In the vicar of St. Alfege, Greenwich—Rev. Brooke Lambert—Charles Booth seems to have found a kindred soul.

The large congregation is now at St. Alfege. Here is offered a good parochial service and the broadest of broad church doctrine, and from these things

male Londoners do not hold aloof. The vicar made no secret of his sense of the superior claims of social as compared to religious work; and it is rather remarkable that he assumed, without hesitation, the position which was suggested by stress of failure in the neighboring parish. "My belief," he said, "is that you must get honest and good ground before you can hope the seed will grow: that will come in good time." And meanwhile his efforts were "directly social and only indirectly religious." The social efforts made here have assumed successively various forms. Clubs on a large scale, once believed in, have been abandoned, the difficulties having proved too great, and now it is from the provident agencies that most is expected. The object aimed at in every case is knowledge of the people, and the mutual benefit that arises from intercourse kept clear of hypocrisy or cadging. The old "ticket" system of relief, and the providing of coals and blankets in winter, have been entirely stopped. As a neighboring vicar put it, "He makes the people pay for their own relief," that is, the visitors collect instead of giving. The Provident Dispensary has three thousand members, who, of course, are not all of this parish. But it must not be supposed that there is no giving. On the contrary, the sums expended each year in charity are large, as is almost invariably the case when strict principles of administration are adopted in a parish where the poor are numerous; for the assistance that is given is adequate, and necessarily costly. The result of the adoption of this policy, carried out with the co-operation of the much abused Charity Organisation Society, is reported to have been to win respect for the church, and to earn dislike "only from those by whom it is an honor to be disliked."

A note refers to Mr. Lambert's death and describes him as "a very liberal-minded and courageous man."

As Charles Booth sums up the results of his inquiry into the response of different classes to religious influences, the reader—especially noticing the defects attributed to the reader's own denomination—naturally asks to what denomination the author belongs. We are told in the *Memoir* that his parents and grandparents on both sides were Unitarians. Unitarianism is a progressive faith, not a church, and its very implications, when once they have become commonplaces of thought, move the third and fourth generations to go out to discover their grounds of sympathy with other religious bodies. "We hold that there may be union for worship and fellowships without uniformity in theological belief" (*Religious Influences*, VII, 233). "In the love of truth and the spirit of Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man" (*passim*, in Unitarian chapel leaflets). So with Charles Booth; he recognized that different reli-

gious bodies were the guardians of different truths which might otherwise be disregarded. As he says in the last page of this report (*Religious Influences*, VII, 432):

... Religion depends on inborn characteristics of the individual soul. The voice of God resounds through the eternities; and the human soul responds or it does not respond, or vibrates in varying ways. Though such experiences vary not only in intensity but in character according to the individual, there is nevertheless much in common, so that what are termed "waves of spiritual blessing" are experienced, or at any rate waves of sentiment. When this phenomenon happens to be associated with racial feeling, or with some historic opportunity and the advent of a great spiritual leader, individuality may for the moment be swept away; but when the special impulse is expended, individuality reasserts itself in what has perhaps become a changed world; and then, when they are no longer overpowered by one strong religious passion, a thousand other spiritual impulses are felt, a thousand spiritual voices become audible, and to some of them each soul of us responds.

It is this, perhaps normal, condition of diffused religion that we have to reckon with in London.

Although Charles Booth was actively and very successfully engaged as the responsible head of his firm as shipowner, merchant, and manufacturer, and must have been an unusually swift worker, he never gave the impression of being in any way a hustler. A mere onlooker might have thought him a very calm and leisurely person. In reality his mental eagerness recalled the invisible flame of a Bunsen burner, well guarded. Again, he had nothing of the superior person about him, either in manner or mode of thought, and working people were always quite at home with him. His landladies in the poor streets in which he lodged regarded him as one of themselves. The same effect is produced on many of his readers when, in his final volume, he gives his views on most of the burning questions of the time. This is partly his own fault, for he writes as though he were giving us the not very valuable impressions of a social photographer. Now he was not only an exceptionally able and patient observer, but for forty years and more he had had a very wide and continuous experience of normal people in every class of life. As employer, buyer, seller, relative, he could have given the life-history of two or three generations of many men with a knowledge of the crises in their lives. Experience led him to attach little value to the psychological axioms and postulates of economists and the theories based on them.



So also he differed from his friends of the Charity Organization Society on several questions of psychology about which they were inclined to be dogmatic (of course the word "psychology" was never used by either side). Profoundly reverent of goodness, Charles Booth was quite unmoved by traditional authority.

Quiet enjoyment of the unconscious humor of unhumorous people and considerable sympathy with alleged sinners must have lightened the depression induced by listening to the story of failure. "We hear of ingrained apathy and contentment, such as makes the despair of the missionary and the reformer, pervading life to the very end, and exemplified by the story of a dying man who admitted belief in the Bible and knew he was a sinner and that sinners, unless repentant, went to hell, but had no wish to repent, and died quite peacefully with that prospect before him." This brings me to my last point. Charles Booth reports over and over again that the missionaries to the darkest districts lay stress on first bringing the objects of their efforts to a sense of sin. That, I am sure from my memory of him, would rarely have been his own method in an attempt to raise the degraded. He would have aimed at implanting the seed of self-respect. But he does not dissent from the theory and would have held that a conviction of God's love in man would inevitably awaken man's consciousness of failure toward God.

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## CHARITY AND WOMEN'S WAGES

THE QUESTION, "What should a woman earn?" has been answered in different ways at different periods in our economic and social development. Older discussions dealt with the problem of the so-called "pin-money" worker, who was not expected to earn enough to support herself and who was, therefore, in the terminology of the Webbs, a "parasitic wage-earner." With the progress of the minimum-wage movement the discussion shifted to the problem of a wage that should provide self-support—a decent maintenance for an able-bodied woman. It is clear, however, that the minimum wage has been in the minds of its advocates an individual wage, and that it has not been thought essential that the wage-earning woman in the lower wage levels should be expected to provide for a group of dependents.

Does the wage-earning woman have dependents to provide for? Various attempts have been made to answer this question.<sup>1</sup> No study, however, has been made that throws light on the further question as to what does happen when, contrary to expectations, she has dependents whose needs are urgent and who have no other natural protector.

These women are, of course, largely women with dependent children, especially widows, deserted and divorced women, and wives of incapacitated men; the elder daughters in such families; and women with aged parents or other incapacitated relatives.

It has long been a question whether the mothers of young children in families deprived of the earnings of the husband and father could properly be regarded as "able-bodied." From the community's point of view it may be better to provide maintenance out of tax-collected funds for such families and keep the mother out of the wage-earning group. But if she does work as a full-time wage-earner, ought the community to subsidize her wages in order to provide for her dependents?

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., a review of discussions of this problem by S. P. Breckinridge in *Journal of Political Economy*, XXXI (August, 1923), 521-43.

This question is a problem not unlike the problem of the able-bodied unskilled man who has a larger number of dependents than his wage can provide for—a larger number of dependents, that is, than the number assumed as “normal” in discussions of the minimum wage for men. Obviously one of two things must happen in such cases: either the community must supplement wages out of public funds, or the standard of living for marginal workers must fall below a decent minimum.

In the case of able-bodied, full-time male wage-earners, certain general principles regarding the relation between poor relief and wages were laid down by the economists and social reformers who prepared the report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws of England in 1834, and their theories have dominated American as well as English practice down to the present day. Their report set forth the facts as to the supplementing of wages out of the poor rates, which was so widely prevalent in England during the “Speenhamland” period from 1795 to 1834, and then went on to prove that the subsidizing of low wages tended to keep wages down, and was in fact a continuing cause of low wages. The social philosophy of relief workers in England and America has been influenced for more than ninety years by this doctrine. It is a very unintelligent and inexperienced relief agent who does not know the dangers of giving “relief in aid of wages,” where the wages of men are involved.

The following statement from the assistant general superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago shows the policy of a large private relief society in this matter:

The discussion of policy with regard to the treatment of families of able-bodied male wage-earners naturally divides into two sections:

1. *Monetary assistance.*—The general policy concerning an application for relief, whether it originates with some member of the family or from some outside agency or individual, of the family of an able-bodied man employed and receiving the normal earnings of his wage group is to refuse monetary assistance. This policy is based upon the assumption that “relief in aid of wages” is subversive of the best economic standards, in that it removes the burden from the unprincipled employer and places it upon the philanthropic employers who contribute to the organization, in that it confuses issues and makes a false basis for judging the minimum requirements for a living wage, in that if extended to a large group it would indirectly form a contribution to the agency so subsidized

and thus tend to discourage increase in wages, and finally in that it is demoralizing to the individual receiving such assistance.

Untoward circumstances occasionally result in the modification of this policy in specific instances. Circumstances may place an insurmountable burden upon the wage-earner, such as death of the wife, leaving a family of young children, or large families of six, seven, or more children all under working age, the presence of mental or physical handicap in one or more members of the family, or unpreventable accidents or disasters.

2. *Assistance through service.*—Social services designed to effect a reorganization of a wage-earner's life resulting in economic independence are rendered freely. Such services may include securing free medical, surgical, or dental care, instruction in household economics, legal advice, vocational advice for the children, assistance in meeting behavior problems and efforts to effect adjustments of personality within the marriage group. In both relief and service the objective is to release the wage-earner's capacities, to adjust him economically, and, if possible, to increase his earning ability. The expenditure of money for this purpose is recognized as legitimate and is used to effect the desired result in these various ways.

The wages of unskilled women, however, have been differently regarded. The same private societies, the same public relief agencies that would refuse to think of subsidizing the wage of an able-bodied man make it one of their accepted policies to give charitable grants in aid of women's wages.

The present study presents the results of an examination of the policies of one of the largest relief agencies in Chicago in order to determine what the community does for the able-bodied full-time woman wage-earner who has dependents and who cannot earn enough to support them.

Records of the other important private relief agencies in the city, as well as the records of the two public-relief agencies, the Aid-to-Mothers Department of the Juvenile Court and the Cook County Agent, were also examined, and their policies were found to be, in general, similar to those of the agency studied. The minor relief agencies, such as the small sectarian relief committees of the various churches and missions, were not studied, since, for one reason, their policies are less clearly defined and they are therefore likely to provide assistance for families of able-bodied men as well as women wage-earners.

The agencies in the first group, however, may be said to accept the standardized policy of refusing to supplement the wages of able-

bodied full-time male wage-earners, and the problem was to examine their attitude toward the able-bodied full-time woman wage-earner. A detailed case study was made only of the United Charities records.

*Scope and method of study.*—The United Charities is the oldest and largest relief society in Chicago, and its records were carefully examined. Schedules were taken from all case records of families in which the woman was the breadwinner because of the death, incapacity, desertion, or absence of the man. In every case chosen, the woman was working in a full-time "job" and at the same time was receiving either continuously or at some time during the year from October, 1923, to October, 1924, relief from the United Charities. Thus all women doing part-time work, including the irregular and unstandardized "day work," washing and cleaning, were excluded. It was found that there were some cases of full-time workers receiving relief in each of the ten district offices, 62 in all, the number in each district varying according to the size of the district, the neighborhoods included in the district, the type of families living there, and the attitude of the district superintendent toward the question of working mothers. As a rule more cases of this kind were found in the districts covering the west, northwest, and southwest sides, although in one such district, owing probably to the fact that the policy of relief giving has always been unusually liberal here, only one case was found. In another district, which includes the Negro section of Chicago, only one such case was found. This can be explained by the fact that the many colored women who work are engaged mostly in day work, which is irregular and rarely seems to provide full-time occupation.

No attempt was made in this study to include families in which the children, young boys or girls, were the breadwinners, as the problem to be studied was that of the adult working woman and her ability to support from her earnings a family of dependent children. After a selection of cases, the next step was to select and transcribe the most significant facts from the case records, which were not infrequently heavy and voluminous. For this purpose, a schedule was prepared which included (1) facts relating to the family as such: its past history, its present composition, its standard of living, the health conditions, educational progress, and occupational history; (2) facts relating to the mother: her physical and mental ability,

her ability to speak English, her recent employment history—the jobs she had held and the wages she had been paid. These later facts have in as many cases as possible been verified by letters from employers; (3) the amount of relief the family has received, the number of agencies giving this relief, the policy of such agencies toward these families, and the number of agencies rendering services of different kinds (not relief) to the family.

*Description of women wage-earners.*—In order to have a clear picture of the most striking characteristics of this group of women and of their ability to cope with the problems confronting them, certain facts in regard to them have been assembled. The first subject considered is that of nationality. In the sixty-two cases studied, fourteen nationalities were found. They were distributed as follows:

American		Foreign	
White.....	15	Hungarian.....	2
Colored.....	2	Austrian.....	2
Foreign		Czechoslovak.....	2
Polish.....	18	Swedish.....	2
Italian.....	6	Slovak.....	1
Russian.....	4	Irish.....	1
Lithuanian.....	3	Jugoslav.....	1
German.....	2	Greek.....	1

Of these sixty-two women, twenty-four do not speak English at all, or at the most speak only a few words and are quite unable to carry on a conversation or understand remarks made to them; and eight of these are illiterate. Thirty-four of the sixty-two do speak English; of these, seventeen are American and one Irish, for all of whom English is the native tongue. This leaves sixteen out of forty-five immigrant women who have learned to speak English since coming to America. These facts are significant as an indication of the economic and social level to which these families belong.

Since these women are breadwinners because of the absence or incapacity of the man who is normally the breadwinner, it is interesting to take note of their marital status, which may be classified as follows: widowed, 19; deserted, 17; divorced, 6; separated, 3; husband incapacitated, 14; husband in prison, 1; unmarried mother, 1; and single woman, 1.

Of the fourteen men who are listed as incapacitated, nine are not at home. Six of these are insane and are at the Chicago state hospital. One, who has syphilis, is at the County Infirmary, and two have tuberculosis and are at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Of the five at home, two are blind, one senile, and two unable to walk, so that their presence, besides adding to the economic burden of the mother, means added care outside of her working hours. One of these cases is that of a single woman supporting her aged father, a man who worked for many years for the post-office, but who is now totally incapacitated. In one of these five families the mother is not the only wage-earner, as the oldest boy is working.

In considering the burden that these women were carrying, it is important to notice the number of children in the families, and first must be considered how many children were under working age. This term "working age" does not mean a definite age, for there were five children who on reaching the school-leaving age were unable to get their working certificates because of their mental incapacity; five others, because of the excellence of their school work, were receiving scholarships from the Vocational Scholarship League, so that they could go to high school. These scholarships amount to \$15 or \$20 a month and are of real assistance to the families, but they do not, of course, support the child entirely. In four other cases the United Charities agreed to help the mother so that the child could stay in school, as it seemed clear that the child and the family would profit by such an arrangement. Including these fourteen children in the category "under working age," the families may be classified as follows:

Children under Working Age in the Family	Number of Families
None . . . . .	1
1 . . . . .	3
2 . . . . .	11
3 . . . . .	19
4 . . . . .	17
5 . . . . .	7
6 . . . . .	2
7 . . . . .	2
Total . . . . .	62



In nine of these families there were children who were working and contributing their wages to the family income. In six of these cases there were three or more dependent children to be supported. In view of the fact that it has been quite common in recent years to consider three dependent children as the "normal family" of a workman in determining wages by collective bargaining, these figures are quite significant. In fourteen families there were fewer than three dependent children per family; in nineteen families there were the "normal number," and in twenty-eight there were more than three. And these children are the responsibility of a woman whose earning capacity is admittedly far smaller than a man's, and whose burden is a double one, as she is the housekeeper as well as the breadwinner.

Is it proper to describe these women as able-bodied workers? This term obviously calls for a definition. The term "able-bodied," although somewhat vague, is taken to mean having no definite incapacity; that is, having ordinary health and strength. A classification of cases on the basis of general health conditions shows that the majority are below middle age and in good health. None of the women was under twenty years of age; only one was in the age group twenty to twenty-four years; thirty-nine were between twenty-five and forty-four years; seven between forty-five and sixty-four years; and for fifteen the age could not be determined.

A classification on the basis of general health showed that thirty-three of the women were in "good" health, fourteen in "fair" health, and fifteen in "poor" health. These terms have their obvious limitations, and it is necessary to note that we do not know how the majority of women wage-earners would be distributed in a similar classification.

It is clear, however, that in a considerable number of cases the women were of low grade physically and mentally. For example, Mrs. D (No. 3), a Polish woman, with an incapacitated husband, is accused of drinking by her husband; her home is poor, and her children neglected. It is not clear, of course, whether or not her work and the unhappy circumstances of her married life may not explain some of her own shortcomings. Her husband is an illiterate Pole, now totally blind, who tricked his wife into thinking that a marriage license was a marriage certificate and who deserted before the first

child was born. However, although Mrs. D has undoubtedly deteriorated as a result of her thirteen years of life with a degraded husband, she seems to be able-bodied physically but might be described as a low-grade type. Her average weekly earnings vary from \$12.60 to \$13.50. While with one employer she averaged \$16 a week for a time, but when she got another job at 25 cents an hour, she averaged only \$12 a week.

In some cases, however, where the woman was in "poor health," her earning capacity was apparently not affected. For example, Mrs. M (Case 6), an Irish woman with five children in school, who had been deserted by her husband, worked as a "saleslady" in a department store in the Loop. Here she earned \$10 a week in 1920 and \$14 a week in 1923. The record showed that she suffered greatly from "varicose veins," and she was classified as in "poor health" in consequence. But she apparently was a good worker in spite of this handicap, as indicated by her steady employment and her promotion. According to the record, the woman found the work very hard but she took care of her children and home in addition to her work as a wage-earner. She brought her children to the society's nutrition clinic, and the whole family had been gaining in weight.

Another mother, Mrs. W (No. 7), who was classified as in "poor health," has temporarily stopped work because of her health, but apparently as long as she was working she was a competent worker in spite of poor health. Mrs. W, an American mother, is another deserted woman supporting five children with aid from the Charities. She worked as an elevator operator in a Loop department store for nearly a year, earning \$14 a week, and then obtained work in another department store, also in the Loop, at \$18 a week. Relief for the twelve months before she stopped working averaged \$18.85 per month.

Another example of the struggle made against ill health as well as other adverse conditions is that of Miss P (age 42), the unmarried mother of seven children, all under working age at the time of this study. She was born in a small country village in Poland, and as her parents were very poor, she never attended school, but at the age of nine went to work for some neighbors. When she was twenty she came to America with another girl of her own age and got a job in

a glue factory. She soon became intimate with a married man of her own race, and for some time lived in his home. He is the father of the three oldest children. After three or four years she met another Polish man, Mr. B, whose wife was still in Poland, and set up house-keeping with him. They stayed together for eight years, and during this time four children were born. Then he deserted at the time the help of the United Charities was asked, and it was discovered that Mr. B's wife had arrived from Poland and he had returned to her. The court of domestic relations ordered Mr. B to pay the mother of the children \$16 a month for the support of the youngest child; the United Charities gave some help; and the mother went to work. Mr. B never paid regularly, as he had his wife and family to support, and besides this he was ill and finally went back to Poland. The mother worked steadily at night, cleaning in an office building downtown, earning first \$15 and then \$16.50 a week. She at the same time took excellent care of her house and brought up the children beautifully. Her health was never good, and finally in 1923 she had a stroke of paralysis, resulting from an old syphilitic infection. The family was broken up, the older children placed, and the Charities are helping her again. During the time she was working, their help averaged \$25.56 a month. Miss P speaks no English and is illiterate.

Mrs. J (age 55), a colored woman whose husband died of pneumonia in 1918, is another woman who has been handicapped by bad health. Mr. J had always worked steadily up to the time of his death, and although his wages were low, his wife and two daughters had managed to get along on them. Mrs. J has always been very delicate and has at different times undergone six operations, some of them very severe. After her husband's death she was granted a mother's pension of \$25 a month, which she supplemented by doing shampooing and part-time janitor work in a public school. In 1919, just when she was recovering from a serious operation, her pension was cut to \$15 because the oldest girl was fourteen. The Charities then supplemented the pension, as the oldest girl, who might have helped her mother, did not work steadily because of poor health and delinquent tendencies. She ultimately "got into trouble" and had an illegitimate child. Since 1922 Mrs. J has been working full time, first in the stockyards, earning \$10 a week, and then in a department store,

wrapping parcels at \$12 a week. At the present time the oldest daughter is married and the whole family is working, so no relief is being given. After Mrs. J started working, the Charities for seven months gave relief which averaged \$11.20 a month.

In such cases as these, the women, besides carrying on two jobs, one at the factory and the other at home, are having to fight against ill health and lack of the necessary physical strength to cope with their responsibilities.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

*Employment and earnings.*—In turning to the actual employment of these women, there are some very interesting facts. Quite naturally they are almost without exception working at entirely unskilled occupations, and in some cases going from job to job with great frequency. There is a variety of industries represented, and the occupations in these industries are almost as numerous as the cases studied. A classification of the industries and occupations has been made as follows:

1. The first group is domestic and personal service, including twenty-five women, as follows:

Employment	Number of Women Employed
Cleaning and scrubbing.....	12
Domestic service.....	8
Laundries.....	3
Restaurant.....	1
Practical nursing.....	1

Nine of the twelve women employed in cleaning and scrubbing worked in office buildings in the Loop district, while the other three scrubbed—one in a neighborhood moving-picture theater, another in a hospital, and the third in a laundry. Of the nine employed in the Loop, four had day employment and the other five worked at night, one scrubbing cars in a railroad yard.

Of the eight employed in domestic service, two worked for private families, two in settlements, three in day nurseries, and one at the Y.M.C.A. This was all day work, usually eight hours a day, with one meal included.

Of the three women working in laundries, one was in a hotel laundry, one in a laundry operated by a railroad, and one in an

independent laundry. The woman working in a restaurant was employed as a dish-washer. The practical nurse was employed in the free dispensary of one of the large hospitals.

2. The next group included twenty-five women employed in manufacturing industries, classified as follows:

Employment	Number of Women Employed
Food products	
a) Stockyards .....	4
b) Biscuit factory .....	1
c) Gum factory .....	1
Clothing manufacture .....	5
Iron and steel .....	4
Electrical products .....	3
Furniture factory .....	2
Rag factory .....	2
Paper box factory .....	1
Publishing house .....	1
Printed string company .....	1

Dressing and packing beef and labeling cans were the occupations of the four women employed in the stockyards. The woman employed in the biscuit factory was in the icing department, and the one in the gum factory cleaned jars. In the iron and steel plant it was not possible to learn the occupations of three of the women; the fourth was an inspector. Of the three women working on electrical products, one wrapped wire, one worked on radios, and the occupation of the third is unknown. The occupation of the woman in the paper box factory is unknown. In clothing manufacture, three women were pants finishers, one sewed on ladies' dresses, and one on powder puffs. Of the other four women, two were rag sorters, one bound stereopticon slides in a publishing house, and one worked, with no occupation given, for a printed string company.

3. The third group of industries is the trade and clerical, which included ten women, as follows:

Employment	Number of Women Employed
Department store	
a) Salesladies .....	5
b) Elevator operators .....	1
c) Wrapping .....	1
Wholesale grocery .....	1
Clerical .....	2

The occupations of the seven women employed in department stores is quite clear. No occupation is given for the wholesale grocery. One woman listed under clerical is a clerk in a wholesale merchandising company. The other does addressing for a publishing house.

*Earnings.*—The weekly earnings of these women have been obtained both from the women themselves and from their employers. Some slight variations in the reports obtained can be explained by the fact that in some cases the actual earnings for a given week were reported, and in some others the average weekly earnings at a certain hourly rate. On the whole, the statements seem to be accurate and give a definite idea as to what the incomes from wages actually were. They may be summarized as follows:

Weekly Earnings	Number of Women
\$10-11.99.....	3
12-13.99.....	9
14-15.99.....	23
16-17.99.....	14
18-19.99.....	4
20-21.99.....	3
22-23.99.....	1
24-25.99.....	1
No report.....	4

While no one was earning less than \$10 a week, twelve women earned between \$10 and \$14 a week and thirty-seven between \$14 and \$18, making a total of forty-nine with a salary under \$18 a week and only nine above that figure.

In considering wages in relation to the occupations in which these women were engaged, there are the following results to be noted:

Weekly Earnings in Cleaning and Scrubbing	Number of Women
\$14-15.99.....	5
16-17.99.....	3
18-19.99.....	1
20-21.99.....	1
22-23.99.....	1
No report.....	1

In this section of the domestic and personal service group no one was earning under \$14 a week, but eight of the eleven whose wages are known were earning less than \$18. These cleaning and scrubbing

women, however, fared better than did the women in domestic service, whose wages were as follows:

Weekly Earnings in Domestic Service	Number of Women
\$10-11.99.....	1
12-13.99.....	3
14-15.99.....	3
20-21.99.....	1

Although the earnings of these women in domestic service appear to be very low, in nearly every case one meal, and sometimes two, was provided, which raises the wage level to some extent. The woman earning \$20 a week was doing day work at the rate of \$4 a day, and her earnings were much larger than those on a weekly basis.

Of the women working in laundries, one was in the \$10-11.99 group and two in the wage group of \$16-17.99. The very low wage was paid to a colored woman who was working as a folder in a laundry.

The two remaining in the group of domestic and personal service are a woman washing dishes in a restaurant for \$11 a week and a practical nurse employed in a free clinic in a hospital, whose earnings were \$15. A summary of this whole group shows that six were earning under \$14, nine (the largest number) were earning between \$14 and \$16, six between \$16 and \$20, and only three over \$20 a week. A different division of the groups shows that twenty out of the twenty-five in this group earned less than \$18 a week.

In the next division, that of manufacturing, the wages of those employed in the making of food products were first analyzed as follows:

Weekly Earnings	Number of Women
\$12-13.99.....	3
14-15.99.....	2
16-17.99.....	1

These earnings are very low, as five out of six were earning less than \$16 and no one was getting more than \$18.

In iron and steel manufacture somewhat the same results were obtained. Thus the four women in this group were distributed as follows:

Weekly Earnings	Number of Women
\$12-13.99.....	1
14-15.99.....	2
16-17.99.....	1



While only one of the four was earning less than \$14, three were earning less than \$16 and only one over \$16.

In the manufacture of electrical products a higher wage level prevails, probably because the type of work requires more skill. There were only three women in this group, and these were distributed as follows:

Weekly Earnings	Number of Women
\$16-17.99.....	2
20-21.99.....	1

No one earned less than \$16, and one was getting over \$20 a week.

In the clothing industry it is difficult to estimate wages, as it is a seasonal trade and there are definite periods of part-time work and no work. The following figures represent as nearly as possible the average weekly full-time earnings:

Weekly Earnings	Number of Women
\$14-15.99.....	3
16-17.99.....	2

In four of the cases the employer reported on what the average wage should be; in the fifth he gave actual earnings for thirty-three weeks at different seasons of the year. An average wage for these weeks was \$17.71.

For the remaining women of this division, whose industries were very varied, including the manufacture of furniture and paper boxes, rag cutting, binding slides, and making printed string, the scale of earnings is found to be:

Weekly Earnings	Number of Women
\$12-13.99.....	1
14-15.99.....	3
16-17.99.....	2
18-19.99.....	1

Here one woman earned less than \$14, five between \$14 and \$18, and none over \$20.

Taking the manufacturing group as a whole, it appears that five women are earning under \$14, ten between \$14 and \$16, nine between \$16 and \$20, and one over \$20.

The trade and clerical division included seven women working in department stores, one in a wholesale grocery, one in a tea com-

pany, and one in a wholesale supply house. In this group one woman is earning under \$14, six between \$14 and \$16, two between \$16 and \$20, and one over \$20. While no one is earning less than \$12, eight out of the ten women are earning less than \$18, and one earns more than \$20 a week. These earnings are summarized in the following table:

Weekly Earnings	Number of Women
\$12-13.99.....	1
14-15.99.....	6
16-17.99.....	1
18-19.99.....	1
20-25.99.....	1

Letters from the employers about these women were in some cases very interesting. A letter had been sent from the Charities office to each employer, asking for an exact statement of the woman's earnings. In all cases these letters were answered promptly and kindly. In the case of one woman whose work apparently was not wholly satisfactory, the employer wrote:

She was laid off because . . . she confessed to being in a state of pregnancy. . . . We could not keep her but promised to take her back if we needed help at such time as she was able to work. . . . We have helped her in many substantial ways, but the home is filthy and the husband drinks. Be that as it may, it is to us who have been in the home a hopeless proposition. She was ailing and absent from time to time and was of such caliber as could only be placed in the most crude and simple positions. Her rate was 39 cents an hour.

Another employer's letter is interesting as a frank statement of the fact that a woman's earnings could not be expected to support a family. In the letter he said:

[Mrs. A] returned to work Wednesday, November 1. Her average weekly earnings, we estimate, will be about \$16.

She is a good worker and, in view of being the mother of five minors, we believe she is in need of all the assistance you may be able to give her.

Similarly, another letter said:

[Mrs. B] was employed by us during the summer, earning \$12 a week. She was a very able worker, and steady, and we believe deserving of any assistance which can be given her.

It is clear that the earnings of such a group of women will not go far toward the support of their dependent children. While there is

some recognition of the necessity of considering the needs of the worker in estimating a minimum rate of wages in states which have minimum wage laws for women, these estimates apply only to single women, and no consideration is given in any state to the needs of the married woman worker who is the breadwinner and has young children dependent upon her. This is probably due to the fact that it is a generally accepted theory that most women workers are unmarried and can manage to live on the wages they earn because they are members of families where there are usually other wage-earners; or if they are married, they are supposed to be merely working for "pin money" or for the sake of securing luxuries which their husbands' earnings will not provide.

Mother's pension legislation transferred the burden of assisting in the support of many of these families from the private relief societies to the taxpayers, but the problem of the relation of wages to family support remains the same. It is to be hoped that a more adequate study in this field may be made at some future time.<sup>1</sup>

LEILA HOUGHTELING

<sup>1</sup> EDITORIAL NOTE.—Dr. Houghteling left this study incomplete at the time of her death. She had planned to use it as an appendix in her recently published book on *The Income and Standard of Living of Unskilled Laborers in Chicago* (see this Review, I, 1 and 148). The collecting of schedules had not been completed, however, except for the United Charities, nor had the work of "budgeting the families" been finished. She had worked out the budgets for some of the women and had also carefully prepared some comparisons between the budgets and the women's wages. It is hoped that this study may be completed later by some of her associates. In the meantime, this section, which she had finished, was so complete and so interesting as to justify its publication without waiting for the completion of the whole report.

## GERMANY'S NEW PUBLIC WELFARE LAW

**T**HE NEW German Public Welfare Law and the federal regulations containing provisions for its administration represent an important advance in German social legislation.

Even before the war, experts in this field were asking for a revision of the old poor law of 1871. But nothing substantial emerged from these discussions. During the war and immediately after its close it was impossible to issue a new codifying law, for the immensity and variety of new problems of poverty and relief, which were arising almost daily, were too great. One had to live from day to day, and it was only possible to try to meet the different emergencies with various special laws and special regulations.

It is, however, important to note that the new German constitution (August 11, 1919) contained several provisions relating to social needs. The preamble to the constitution, for example, gives as one of its objects "to foster social progress." Article VII gives to the *Reich* jurisdiction over "poor relief and vagrancy" (No. 5), "protection of maternity, infancy, childhood, and adolescence" (No. 7), "the rights of labor, social insurance, the protection of wage-earners, and other employees, and the employment bureaus" (No. 9), "provision for war veterans and their dependents" (No. 11). The following articles of the constitution are also indicative of a national interest in social welfare. Articles 119-22 deal with the duty of the state to the family:

Art. 119. Marriage, as the foundation of family life and of the maintenance and increase of the nation, is under the special protection of the Constitution. It is based on the equal right of both sexes.

The maintenance of the purity, the health, and the social advancement of the family is the task of the state and of the municipalities. Families with numerous children have a claim to equalizing assistance.

Art. 120. The physical, mental, and moral education of their offspring is the highest duty and the natural right of parents, whose activities are supervised by the political community.

Art. 121. Illegitimate children shall be provided by law with the same opportunities for their physical, mental, and moral development as legitimate children.

Art. 122. Youth shall be protected against exploitation as well as against

neglect of their moral, mental, or physical welfare. The necessary arrangements shall be made by state and municipality.

Articles 162 and 163 are only two out of a series of constitutional provisions dealing with the rights of labor:

Art. 162. The Commonwealth commits itself to an international regulation of the legal status of the workers, which shall strive for a standard minimum of social rights for the whole working class of the world.

Art. 163. Every German has, without prejudice to his personal liberty, the moral duty so to use his intellectual and physical powers as is demanded by the welfare of the community.

Every German shall have the opportunity to earn his living by labor. So long as suitable employment cannot be procured for him, his maintenance will be provided for. Details will be regulated by special national laws.

At the end of the inflation period, in 1923, there existed a confusion of state regulations and federal regulations and laws relating to different groups of needy persons. It was almost impossible for any one individual to understand this complicated network of measures. The different regulations were issued from different boards, and often attacked the same problems from very different angles; they lacked unity and conformity, and varied greatly in merit and in national importance.

Among the different groups of needy persons to whom special attention should be called, the war dependents were of first importance. From the very beginning of the war everyone agreed that the dependents of those in war service should under no circumstance come under the poor-law authorities, for that was looked upon as a disgrace, bringing with it also loss of caste. Special authorities (*Kriegsfürsorgestellen*) were created, under whose direction the pensions for the widows and orphans and war injured were paid. These same authorities also directed case work for the soldiers' families.

In many places the trained and experienced social workers of private welfare agencies worked closely together with these public authorities. As a result, a good many people became trained for comprehensive family case work through practical experience with these boards. The care for the war dependents developed into a very thorough system of individual case work. The aim was to make the families and individuals concerned self-supporting so far as possible, and to enable them to live according to the same standards as before

the war; but of course the general pauperization of the whole population had to be taken into account. A strong appeal was always made to the spirit of self-maintenance. By means of the so-called "occupational therapy" (*Arbeitstherapie*) for the incapacitated, much has been achieved; and new standards of care for this group have stimulated a movement for the better training of all handicapped persons, especially of the blind, the dumb, and the cripples.

Another group of persons in need of special care were those aged people receiving pensions from the different social insurances (*Sozialrentner*). In ordinary times their annuities were for the most part large enough to cover their necessary expenditures, but the inflation had so devalued their pensions that they were worth nothing at all. It was impossible, in the impoverished state of the country, to re-establish these annuities and bring them back to their full former value. By great effort they were somewhat increased, but the very small pensions could not meet the necessities of those without any other means than their state pensions. It became urgently necessary to supplement these small annuities in many cases; and as it was not advisable to turn the matter over to the poor-law boards, special public funds were necessary.

A third group who up to now had never belonged to the class of public dependents and who had had no contacts with the public welfare departments were the people of small private means (*Kleinrentner*). These people of small independent incomes are the aged members of the free professions, the retired lawyers, artists, doctors, and so on, and members of the so-called "lower middle classes," house-owners, landlords, artisans, and others. This whole class of *Kleinrentner*, among whom were the most highly educated and cultivated people, could not be left to the poor-law boards, whose officials did not understand their needs nor the special and often cruel hardships which these old people were suddenly called upon to endure. As the inflation had destroyed all their savings, private insurances, etc., the state granted a very small pension for all those who were no longer able to earn any money.

Even at the present time these groups, together with some other dependent groups, include more than 25 per cent of the population of Germany. The department of federal statistics gives the following figures showing the numbers of persons in the different classes

receiving public assistance in Germany: 721,000 war-injured persons, receiving pensions, whose earning capacity is restricted from 30 to 100 per cent; 1,597,000 war widows and war orphans; 1,558,000 persons receiving old age and invalidity pensions; 831,000 women receiving widows' and orphans' pensions; 768,000 persons receiving industrial accident pensions and persons dependent on such pensions. Figures showing the number of people of small means receiving pensions are not available at the present moment for the whole of Germany.

To these numbers should be added more than 2,000,000 sick people who are treated in hospitals and are unable to earn money, and several hundred thousand of insane persons. So there are at least 8,000,000 inhabitants without any purchasing power of their own, and more than as many more are estimated to be dependent on them.

There were also some other groups for whom special regulations were issued, such as women in pregnancy who had no social insurance, or the dependent fugitives returning from territories which were formerly German.

Neither the private charities nor the local authorities could meet the enormous emergencies involving whole classes of the population. The federal government was obliged to give financial assistance in many fields, but the spending of the money was in the hands of the states and the local communities. While this arrangement was for the moment necessary, it was on the whole a procedure of doubtful wisdom. The states, provinces, and local communities were not directly interested in an efficient and thrifty management of the funds, and much money was wasted. The resulting financial difficulties and confusion led to bureaucratic friction and useless discussions among the various authorities, which worked to the great disadvantage of the poor. Thus conditions had reached a point where changes were absolutely necessary.

The new law<sup>1</sup> and the federal regulations<sup>2</sup> apply the new 'princi-

<sup>1</sup> This very important law, *Verordnung über die Fürsorgepflicht vom 13. Februar, 1924* (Reichs-Gesetzbl. 1924 I S. 100), will be found conveniently reprinted and analyzed in Dr. Bruno Jung, *Die öffentliche und private Wohlfahrtspflege in Deutschland* (Staatsbürger Bibliothek, Heft 118-119). See also Dr. Otto Wölz, *Aufgaben deutscher Wohlfahrtspolitik* (Schriften der Vereinigung für staatswissenschaftliche Fortbildung, Heft 3), Berlin: Gersbach, 1925; and Hans Muthesius, *Die Wohlfahrtspflege* (Berlin: Verlag Julius Springer, 1925).

<sup>2</sup> *Reichsgrundsätze über Voraussetzung, Art und Mass der öffentlichen Fürsorge vom 4. Dezember, 1924* (Reichs-Gesetzbl. 1924 I S. 765).



ples of relief to the whole of Germany. By this law, state welfare boards (*Landesfürsorgeverbände*) and district welfare boards (*Bezirksfürsorgeverbände*) are created, which have power to deal with all emergencies. The law still provides different forms of relief for the before-mentioned different groups, that is, war dependents, *Socialrentner*, *Kleinrentner*, etc., but the regulations fit into a general scheme and the whole management is now unified and transferred to the community units. It may be safely said that the standard of relief for the comparatively small group of those who may be called "simply poor," that is, those not belonging to one of the "special classes impoverished as a result of the conditions arising out of the war, has been decidedly improved by the more generous regulations for the separate groups and by the administration of all the relief funds by one authority. The question of financing, too, is settled, inasmuch as the local authorities are in every way responsible for the raising (as part of the general taxes) and the expenditure of the relief funds.

It is left to state legislation to determine how the district welfare boards shall be organized, but it is expressly stipulated that the districts must be equal to their tasks; that is to say, they must not be too small.

To avoid overlapping and to give relief systematically, the welfare boards shall co-operate with each other, with all public boards in question, with the labor offices, and specially with the private charities in their districts. The public welfare boards shall become centers for all movements and institutions for social work. They may delegate some of their tasks to private organizations, if these are competent and willing to take the responsibility. Public and private welfare work shall supplement each other and co-operate by acknowledging the absolute independence of each party. One can understand the emphasis and minuteness of details of this paragraph (which is too detailed to be given here in full) only if one knows something of the preceding discussions and experiences. Soon after the war the wave of public opinion under the strong influence of the socialistic party was very antagonistic to the private charities and demanded their abolition, or at least the withholding of all public subsidies to them. The idea was that all social work and relief work

could be done, and would be done better and more justly, by public authorities. In the following years of the inflation, when the private charities proved to be immensely helpful, the more far-seeing people in all parties admitted their usefulness, their not yet completed task in pioneer and in research work, and last, not least, their economic value. It was generally agreed that the private institutions could be run as well and much more economically than the public institutions. The majority of the people turned in favor of private welfare work, and this newly won insight—won by many costly experiments and much discussion—was laid down in the new law, so that the position and independence of private charity is now legally stronger than before the war.

The new law also provides that the public welfare boards shall foster institutions for the occupation of incapacitated people, for it is now understood that such public works, if they are economically managed, make relief unnecessary in the case of many individuals. Each district welfare board is obliged to give relief and to pay the bills for this relief finally for every needy person who has his "usual residence" in the district. Formerly one year's residence in the district was necessary before the board was finally expected to take over the expenditure for relief. The introduction of "usual residence" for granting relief is an immense improvement and saves a great deal of investigation and bureaucratic correspondence among the different boards, and useless expense. For some especially mentioned cases exceptions are made, and what is meant by "usual residence" is defined.

The law recognizes a person in need of relief as one "who is not able to provide, or sufficiently to provide, from his own powers and means, and for whom the assistance of others, especially of relatives, does not provide the necessary means of existence for himself and those entitled to depend on him for maintenance."

The necessities of life which must be granted include not only lodging, food, clothing, and nursing, but also medical treatment, assistance during pregnancy and confinement, education and vocational training of minors, vocational training for the blind, deaf, and dumb, and cripples. The including of education and training among the "necessary means of existence" is a new principle of public wel-

fare in most sections of Germany, and will provide a new generation of youth, better fit for life than the old.

Side by side with the very extensive public responsibility for assisting those in need, a very strong appeal for self-help is made to the individual in the new law. The willingness to work must under all circumstances be tested, and the individual's capacity for work must be utilized to its fullest extent. However, for women a certain reservation is made: "They are not expected to work for their living if this should endanger the proper bringing up of their children; special regard must also be had to their other duties of household management and care of their families.

The object of relief is always to put the person who is in need in a position in which he can earn the necessary means of existence—as far as possible—for himself and for those depending on him. In order to accomplish this purpose, timely help must be forthcoming; and the assistance must be adequate and so given that the temporary condition of need may not develop into a permanent one. The special circumstances of each case shall be taken into consideration. To obviate a lasting emergency, relief may even be granted as a preventive measure, especially to preserve health and working capacity. With regard to the care of minors, except in so far as they are dealt with by the children's bureau,<sup>1</sup> action may be taken to prevent handicaps with regard to physical, mental, or moral development.

These are, briefly, the main contents of the law. It shows progress in three directions: It represents an attempt to unify and simplify public welfare legislation for the whole Republic of Germany by codifying many old laws. Nevertheless it leaves room for individual care, which is the core of all modern relief work; and, finally it puts the idea of education and training in the heart of the system, with the avowed purpose of making everyone independent as far as possible.

The public-welfare executive authorities are, in Germany, nearly everywhere the old local poor committees of the "Elberfelder System." The name of "poor committee" has been changed very gen-

<sup>1</sup> Established by *Jugendwohlfahrtsgesetz* (July, 1922). A later article will deal with this law and its administration.

erally to "welfare committee," or some similar term.<sup>1</sup> But the old local poor committees or the new local welfare committees undergo a distinct process of reform, which had begun already before the war, at least in some large cities. The majority of the members still are voluntary, honorary, untrained workers, but the first investigations are mostly made by trained social workers (*Bezirksfürsorgerinnen*) on duty at the central district welfare board. The plan for assistance is worked out and decided in the central office. The simpler cases and the follow-up work are then turned over to the local committees, while the more complicated cases are thoroughly dealt with in the central bureau. At the meetings of the local committees the trained social worker is always present to give experienced counsel if difficult cases turn up, or in cases of urgent need. By this close co-operation of voluntary untrained work and paid professional work some of the great advantages of the "Elberfelder System" are preserved. These advantages include the use of small districts of about 5,000 inhabitants, the close touch with the life and sorrows of the neighbors, the great amount of voluntary work and interest. All this is made more efficient and more adequate to meet the varying demands of an increasingly complicated city life by the experience and sound knowledge of the trained social worker, who leads and educates the voluntary members.

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<sup>1</sup> The words "poor," "poor law," "poor board," and so on are no more in fashion and are beginning to be eliminated everywhere. The new law, for example, nowhere uses the word. This is an outward sign of an inward change of attitude toward underprivileged classes.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGES

IN THE following article an attempt is made to summarize the facts obtained from the 147 replies to a questionnaire<sup>1</sup> addressed to all the 181 members of the Association of Social Service Exchanges. A brief explanatory statement is necessary with reference to the general problem of the exchange and to the reason for sending out the questionnaire.

The social service exchange or social service registration bureau is of course unlike other social agencies in that it has no purpose in and of itself. Its only object is that of rendering the work of other agencies more efficient. By supplying information that will prevent duplication of work, facilitate co-operation, economize time, strength, and personal strain, it makes an essential contribution to all case-work agencies whether they are organized to give relief, or for any form of well-considered social service. That every agency should register its cases and should obtain all the information available with reference to an applicant and his needs and to the effort put forth on the part of other agencies is now an accepted item in any program of sound social case work. A connecting link or a source of information without having a group of its own clients, the exchange is in a position among social agencies that is unique and far from being generally understood.

There are in the first place very real difficulties in bringing about a universal practice of registration. There are not only questions of cost and of organization but also problems arising from the confidential character of the information obtained and from the varying

<sup>1</sup> This questionnaire was prepared in connection with a study of the Chicago Social Service Exchange undertaken by the Local Community Research Committee and the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago and the Chicago Council of Social Agencies as a memorial study in honor of Helen Crittenden, the first director of the Exchange. As a preliminary step, it seemed advisable to assemble the facts with reference to the organization, administration, and financing of similar agencies in other cities of the United States and Canada. The Association of Exchanges was formed in 1919, after several preliminary conferences; and in 1925 plans were made for its merger in the following year with the American Association for Community Organization.

standards prevailing as between one agency and another. There consequently arise interesting and difficult questions as to the sources from which support should be obtained, the agency to which ultimate responsibility is to be assigned, and especially, perhaps, as to the kinds of pressure that can be brought to bear on recalcitrant agencies registering in a haphazard fashion or perhaps failing to register at all.

There is, for example, the question of the relation between the endorsing agency in the community and agencies that fail to make full use of the Exchange, or of institutions and organizations with funds at their disposal with reference to these same agencies. That is, the question of the extent to which pressure like that of refusing indorsement or of denying funds should be resorted to by way of bringing agencies into the co-operative relationship of the exchange is one of great interest.

The way in which use is made of the information obtained from the exchange, from the point of view of promptness and of intelligent consultation, and the degree to which responsibility rests on the exchange to see that efficiency characterizes this aspect of the community case work are also interesting problems. Of course, if the confidence of the exchange is violated and the information supplied is used for other purposes than those of efficient and appropriate service to the client, the agency responsible for this abuse must be excluded from the group. It was to learn of the experience in the various communities with reference to some of these points that the questionnaire was sent out.

There were, as has been said, 181 exchanges on the list. The organization of an exchange is evidence of a fairly complicated and elaborate development of social resources. It was therefore thought that the size of the city might be a matter of some importance and that difference in arrangement and relationship might be affected by this factor in the situation. The cities on the list were therefore classified on the basis of population as of the 1920 Census.<sup>1</sup> Class 1 is composed of cities of a million or more population; Class 2 of those between 500,000 and a million; Class 3 of those between 250,000 and 500,000; Class 4 of those between 100,000 and 250,000;

<sup>1</sup> See classification at end of article.

Class 5 of those between 25,000 and 100,000; and Class 6 of those under 25,000.

This distribution by size of city is set forth in Table I, from which it appears that the use of the exchange has been undertaken in cities of every size and that the largest proportion of them is to be found in the smaller cities, nearly half being in cities of between 25,000 and 100,000.

Of the 181 schedules sent out, 34 were not returned, and 3 were unsigned and could not be identified. Those cities from which

TABLE I  
POPULATION OF CITIES INCLUDED IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE  
ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGES; NUMBER  
AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

Population	Number of Cities	Per Cent Distribution
Total .....	181	100.0
1,000,000 or over .....	4	2.2
500,000 and less than 1,000,000 .....	9	5.0
250,000 and less than 500,000 .....	15	8.3
100,000 and less than 250,000 .....	42	23.2
25,000 and less than 100,000 .....	83	45.8
Less than 25,000 .....	28	15.5

no returns were received will not be listed. They were, with few exceptions, in the groups of smaller cities. With the exception of the three executives whose schedules were not identified, the names of the cities are generally given; and the information is listed for all schedules, even for the three not identified. As is usual in case of questionnaires, there were on many of them some questions to which there were no replies; but the number of replies to each question taken up is stated. However, the statistical aspect of the material will not be emphasized, and it will be found that no relationship seems to be indicated between the size of the city and the special details of organization. The explanation of how and why certain methods have been adopted would necessarily be the subject of a more extensive inquiry.

Before summarizing the replies, a few words should be said with reference to the questionnaire. This contained eleven questions



covering such points as: the conditions of organization, the administration and financing of the exchange, its relation to the indorsing agency of the community, its relation to registering agencies, and its relation to the council of social agencies, the community chest, or any other general community-wide organization. The following analysis of the replies is presented as a matter of general interest from the point of view of organization of agencies and interrelations among agencies in behalf of increased efficiency and skill in service.

1. The first question was, "Under the direction of what organization is the work of the exchange carried on?" The 121 replies to

TABLE II  
ORGANIZATIONS THAT DIRECT THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE  
EXCHANGES; NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

Organizations That Direct the Work of the Exchanges	Number of Exchanges	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	121	100.0
Community chest or welfare federation....	39	32.2
Welfare association or bureau.....	23	19.0
Central council of social agencies.....	17	14.0
A county organization.....	10	8.3
Associated charities.....	9	7.5
Red Cross.....	8	6.6
Social service bureau.....	5	4.1
Family welfare society.....	3	2.5
Independent organization.....	2	1.7
Various special arrangements.....	5	4.1

this question are summarized in Table II. From this table it appears that the community chest or welfare federation is the most common directing agency. In 39, or 32.2 per cent of the cities, the exchange was under the direction of such a supervisory body. The next largest number, 23, or 19.0 per cent, referred to a welfare association or bureau, and 17, or 14.0 per cent, to a central council of social agencies.

That cities of all sizes were found in each of these groups is shown in Table III, which classifies the 121 cities by population.

For example, the 39 exchanges having the community chest or welfare federation were distributed as follows: Class 2 (4 cities between 500,000 and a million), Baltimore, Cleveland, Los Angeles, and Pittsburgh; Class 3 (5 cities between 250,000 and 500,000), Denver, Minneapolis, Newark, Portland (Oregon),

and Seattle; Class 4 (12 cities between 100,000 and 250,000), Akron, Atlanta, Birmingham, Erie, Grand Rapids, Honolulu, Lowell, New Bedford, New Haven, Salt Lake City, Spokane, and Toledo; Class 5 (14 cities between 25,000 and 100,000), Canton, Charleston, Duluth, Evansville, Fresno, Kalamazoo, Knoxville, Madison, Oklahoma City, Portland (Maine), South Bend, Tampa, Wilkes-Barre, Williamsport; and Class 6 (3 cities less than 25,000), Boulder, Englewood, and Santa Barbara. No report, 1 (see footnote, Table III).

TABLE III  
ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DIRECT THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE  
COMPARED WITH THE POPULATION OF THE CITIES IN  
WHICH THEY ARE LOCATED

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DIRECT THE WORK OF THE EXCHANGE	TOTAL NO. OF CITIES	CITIES HAVING A POPULATION OF:						No Re- port*
		1,000,000 or Over	500,000 to 1,000,000	250,000 to 500,000	100,000 to 250,000	25,000 to 100,000	Less than 25,000	
Total .....	121	4	8	16	28	43	19	3
Community chest or wel- fare federation .....	39	.....	4	5	12	14	3	1
Welfare association or bu- reau .....	23	1	3	2	4	8	5	....
Central council of social agencies .....	17	1	1	5	4	5	.....	1
A county organization .....	10	.....	.....	.....	2	3	5	....
Associated charities .....	9	1	.....	1	4	3	.....	.....
Red Cross .....	8	.....	.....	1	.....	5	2	....
Social service bureau .....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	3	....
Family welfare society .....	3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	1
Independent organization .....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Various special arrange- ments .....	5	.....	.....	.....	2	3	.....	.....

\* These were the schedules sent in unsigned.

The 23 cities having the welfare association or bureau included New York among the largest cities; and in Class 2 (3 cities), Boston, Buffalo, and Detroit; Class 3 (2 cities), Indianapolis and Minneapolis; Class 4 (4 cities), Des Moines, Fall River, Trenton, and Yonkers; Class 5 (8 cities), Moline, New Britain, Ottawa, Quincy, Rockford, Rock Island, St. Joseph, and Stamford; and Class 6 (5 cities), Attleboro, Bloomfield, Fond du Lac, LaSalle, and Newtonville.

The 17 cities having the central council of social agencies as the supervisory agency include: Class 1 (1 city), Chicago; Class 2 (1 city), St. Louis; Class 3 (5 cities), Cincinnati, Kansas City (Missouri), Milwaukee, Montreal, and Rochester (New York); Class 4 (4 cities), Bridgeport, Columbus, Norfolk, and Richmond; and Class 5 (5 cities), Bethlehem, Little Rock, Mobile, Pasadena, and Springfield (Illinois). No report, 1.

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The 9 cities having the associated charities responsible include: Class 1 (1 city), Brooklyn; Class 2, none; Class 3 (1 city), Washington; Class 4 (4 cities), Albany, Dayton, Manila, and Worcester; Class 5 (3 cities), Harrisburg, Utica, and Wilmington; Class 6, none.

Of the 8 cities in which the exchange is under the Red Cross: Class 1 and 2, none; Class 3 (1 city), Jersey City; Class 4, none; Class 5 (5 cities), Danville, Easton, Lawrence, New Brunswick, and Passaic; Class 6 (2 cities), Astoria and Bismarck.

Of the 5 cities replying that the social service bureau was the directing agency, all belonged in Classes 5 and 6, including: Class 5 (2 cities), Flint and Hamilton; and Class 6 (3 cities), Boulder, Geneva, and Morristown.

2. The replies to the second question, "What is the relationship between the exchange and the group under which it carries on its work as to (a) organization, (b) administration, (c) finance?" will be considered in the order in which the replies to the first question were discussed. The size of the city, however, has seemed, on the whole, irrelevant; and therefore reference to the classification will be made only by placing after the name of the city, when it seems advisable, the number of the group to which it belongs.

(1) Of the 39 cities under a community chest or welfare federation, 33 specify that the administration and financial responsibility of the exchange is carried by the federation. Four cities report special arrangements. Baltimore has a board of twelve directors, elected by member-agencies. There is a \$5.00 membership fee; and, except for that, the community fund meets the cost. In Cleveland the exchange is financed by the chest but is administered by an executive committee for the exchange. Birmingham is financed by the chest but administered as a separate organization through an executive secretary. In Canton the organization is under the public welfare department of the federation, and the administration is directed by an advisory council made up of representatives of the member-agencies. The executive secretary is largely responsible for the administration. Two cities, Kalamazoo and Williamsport, make no reply to this question.

(2) Of the 23 cities where the exchange is under the direction of a welfare bureau, the exchange is administered and also financed by the bureau, except in the case of Buffalo, where it is financed by the Joint Charities and Community Fund, through the Charity Organi-

zation Society; and of Minneapolis, where the community fund is the source of support through the welfare bureau. Fall River, which is now financed and administered by the Association for Community Welfare, is considering a plan for financing through contributions from agencies using the exchange.

(3) Of the 17 cities where the exchange is reported as being carried on under the direction of the council of social agencies, the administration is also carried by the council, with the exception of St. Louis, where the exchange functions as a separate unit. The board of delegates constitutes the governing board, which is made up of two representatives from each member-organization. Most of the business is conducted by an executive committee of five and by various other committees. The financial responsibility, on the other hand, is not always assumed by the council. The 17 exchanges are financed as follows:

a) By the council: (9 cities) St. Louis, Kansas City, Montreal, Norfolk, Richmond, Little Rock, Mobile, and Springfield (Illinois). No report, 1.

b) By the community chest or by a community fund: (6 cities) Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Rochester (New York), Columbus, Bethlehem, and Pasadena.

c) Jointly by the council and the community chest: Bridgeport.

d) Jointly by the membership of the exchange and the council: Chicago. (Only the deficit is carried by the council.)

(4) The 10 cities functioning under a county organization are administered and financed by the county organization, with the exception of Red Bank and Davenport, which did not report this item.

(5) In 9 cities where the exchange is organized as a part of the associated charities or bureau of charities, the administration is with this group in all cases but one. The exception is Albany, where the administration is entirely with the Confidential Exchange, the members of which are, however, appointed from the board of managers of the associated charities.

The financial responsibility here is also with the directing group in all cities with the exception of Dayton, where the community chest serves in this capacity.

(6) In the 5 cities where the exchange is under the social service bureau, in the 3 under the family welfare society, and in the 8 under the Red Cross, the exchange is in each case administered and financed by the agency specified.

(7) The 7 cities which are described as having varied and miscellaneous forms of organization are administered and financed as follows:

Philadelphia, organized as an independent organization, is administered by a board of directors and financed by three groups, a welfare federation, the Jewish federation, and agencies not in the federation. The executive who returned the questionnaire was good enough to comment on the situation in the following terms:

As to administration and organization: The Board of Directors consists of fifteen members, either executives or directors of social agencies. Five are elected each year to serve for a term of three years. We attempt to have the various types of organization represented, as the Children's Agencies, Settlements, Relief Agencies, Churches, etc. The Board has the same responsibilities that any Board of Directors would have.

As to finance: The Exchange was at first financed on a per capita basis which literally killed the Exchange. This method made it impossible also to work out a budget. In 1921 the majority of agencies were asked to pay on a lump sum basis. With this plan the large agencies were simply requested to pay a large sum irrespective of the amount of service given. This latter plan has not been altogether satisfactory as the agencies too often measure the inquiry in terms of dollars and cents. Also it is exceedingly difficult to obtain the co-operation of a new agency when they have to pay for service when they do not appreciate the value of it.

The Jewish Federation is now paying us a lump sum for all Jewish agencies within the Federation.

St. Louis, organized as a department of the community council but functioning as a separate unit, is administered by a board of delegates and financed through the council. The following comments by the executive there are of interest:

As to organization: The Exchange functions as a separate unit. The Board of delegates is the governing body. The Board is composed of two representatives from each member organization. Most of the business is transacted by the Executive Committee of five, and the various other committees.

As to administration: The administration of the Exchange is left to the Board of Delegates and the Executive Committee except in matters of policy which are referred to the Community Council.

As to finance: The Exchange has a separate budget; but all bills are paid through the Council by the financial secretary. All purchases are made through the Central Purchasing Bureau of the Community Council, by requisitions, signed by the secretary of the Social Service Exchange.

Toronto, organized under a co-operative board of five, is administered by a registrar responsible to the board and is financed by the community chest and other grants. The exchange is said to be operated by a co-operative board of five members, made up of one representative each from the federation for community service (community chest), the welfare division of the city, the Neighborhood Workers Association (which corresponds, approximately, to a charity organization society), and two members from the general social work organizations using the exchange. The board is elected annually and elects its own officers.

The exchanges in Omaha, organized under the council of social agencies, the welfare federation and the community chest, and in Birmingham, organized under the chest, are financed by the chest, and are administered in each case by the executive secretary, who is directly responsible to the chest; while that of Winnipeg, organized under a social welfare commission, is administered and financed by the commission.

The exchange of Manchester, organized under the City Mission, is administered and financed by that organization. That of Johnstown, under direction of the membership of the exchange, is administered by an executive committee of a board representing the agencies using the exchange, and financed by the board. Bangor made no reply to this question.

Summarizing these returns, they may be said to indicate that in practically all cities the social service exchange is organized, administered, and financed not by its own efforts but by some sort of larger community association or by a strong case-working agency of the community, such as the associated charities.

As to financing, the exchanges of Chicago and of Johnstown are peculiar in that they raise the budget through the member agencies of the exchange. Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Fall River might, however, be kept in mind in this connection.

3. The third question was, "What is the indorsing agency in your community?" Attention has been called to the fact that use of the registration bureau is thought of as essential to sound standards of case work and may be regarded as a test of fitness for indorsement. The replies to this question are therefore of interest as showing the

extent to which these theories of control have been embodied in administrative arrangements or expressed in terms of financial control. In 27 cities, the community chest indorses; the council of social agencies in 14; in 10, the chamber of commerce. In 3, Norfolk, Manila, and New Brunswick, the department of public safety or welfare indorses; in 2, Washington, D.C., and Winnipeg, there are special committees on indorsement; in Wilmington, the associated charities exercise this function. In 30 cities, two or more agencies are responsible. In 12 cities there is no indorsing agency. From the other exchanges no reply was received on this point.

The facts with reference to these groups of exchanges are of interest.

The cities in which the community chest or financial federation indorses are: Class 1, no cities; Class 2 (1 city), Detroit; Class 3 (4 cities), Denver, Indianapolis, Newark, and Seattle; Class 4 (7 cities), Akron, Birmingham, Dayton, Lowell, Oakland, Omaha, and Toledo; Class 5 (11 cities), Canton, Evansville, Flint, Fresno, Hamilton, Kalamazoo, Moline, New Britain, Rockford, Saint Joseph, and Schenectady; and Class 6 (4 cities), Attleboro, Boulder, Morristown, and Webster Groves.

The 14 cities in which the council of social agencies indorses are: Classes 1 and 2, no cities; Class 3 (2 cities), Montreal and Rochester (New York); Class 4 (2 cities), Reading and Salt Lake City; Class 5 (7 cities), Charleston, Knoxville, Little Rock, Mobile, Pasadena, Portland, and Springfield (Illinois); and Class 6 (1 city), Astoria. No report, 2.

Ten cities of varying sizes are included among those in which the chamber of commerce or association of commerce indorses: Class 1 (2 cities), Chicago and Philadelphia; Class 2 (2 cities), Cleveland and Buffalo; Class 3 (1 city), Milwaukee; Class 4 (2 cities), Fall River and Providence; Class 5 (1 city), Johnstown; and Class 6 (2 cities), Bismarck and Geneva.

The cities in which there is no agency for indorsement again include both large and small cities: New York, where however the charity organization society maintains a bureau of advice and information; Boston, Jersey City, Utica, and Yonkers, where the charity organization society in rare instances will make an investigation and give information; Davenport, Easton, Norristown, and Stamford in Class 5; and Englewood and Media, both in the group of smallest cities. No report, 1.

4. The fourth question, which had to do only with the 30 communities<sup>1</sup> in which there were two or more agencies doing the work of in-

<sup>1</sup> These 30 cities also varied greatly in size, as follows: Class 2 (500,000 to 1,000,000), Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis; Class 3 (250,000 to 500,000), Cin-



dorsement, was as follows: "If there are several indorsing agencies, how do they divide their work? What is the relationship between and among these indorsing agencies?"

It is not necessary to enumerate the exact combinations indicated in the replies. The meaning and purpose of indorsement vary. For example, in Baltimore no authority considers indorsement as a regular responsibility, but "both the Family Welfare Agency and the Community Fund will investigate and report, giving a bare statement of facts, without specific recommendations. The Association of Commerce has a Committee to pass on Social Agencies who desire to raise money by a drive or a public appeal." In Pittsburgh, the department of public welfare and the chamber of commerce both indorse, but there is said to be no agreement as to division of work between them; while in St. Louis, the charities committee of the chamber of commerce and the community council "work in close co-operation"; and in Cincinnati, the community chest and Council of Social Agencies "operate as one agency." In one city, the indorsement committee and the budget committee of the Federation both act. "One passes on new projects, one on current expenses."

In general, it may be said, then, that where two or more agencies are concerned to indorse, the organized commercial interests of the city or the community fund reports on the financial good faith, while the council of social agencies, the public welfare authority, or the family welfare agency vouches for the social competence of the organization. In some cities, as many as three authorities or agencies co-operate in deciding upon indorsement. One New England city, for example, reports that the chamber of commerce, council of social agencies, and the manufacturers' association act together:

A social agency cannot be admitted to the Council of Social Agencies or the Community Chest without a majority vote of the delegates of the Council. The Council does not indorse other agencies but operates a bureau of information furnishing any subscriber with facts in reference to any social agency or other group, particularly when solicitation of funds is proposed. The other two in-

cinnati, Kansas City, Minneapolis, and Portland; Class 4 (100,000 to 250,000), Columbus, Bridgeport, Des Moines, Erie, Grand Rapids, Honolulu, Richmond, Spokane, and Worcester; Class 5 (25,000 to 100,000), Bethlehem, Duluth, Danville, Oklahoma City, Ottawa, Madison, Manchester, South Bend, San Jose, Rock Island, Wilkes-Barre; and Class 6 (below 25,000), Bloomfield and Boulder. No report, 1.

dorsing agencies rely entirely upon the facts furnished by the Council of Social Agencies before indorsing any group proposing to make general solicitation of funds. The Council of Social Agencies does not act in reference to groups soliciting advertising or any semi-commercial enterprise.

In one of the Canadian cities the relationship of the two indorsing agencies is as follows:

The Social Service Department of the City sets its approval on certain agencies by giving them an annual grant. The Bureau operates a Family Welfare Committee, which meets monthly. The membership is composed of representatives of the churches, social, and nursing groups in the city, also the service groups and other groups interested in the welfare of the community. The groups represented on this Committee are all permitted to make full use of the Exchange. We might say that information is accepted from practically all sources in the community, including agencies which keep no written records. The Secretary uses her own discretion as to whether certain persons should receive information, and if a serious question arose the decision would rest with the Bureau's Board of Directors. We have never experienced any difficulty in this connection or had any information given by the Exchange misused.

Sometimes the commercial agency acts in relation to organizations not members of the community fund, while the fund is responsible for its members. In one city where there is a community union of thirteen social agencies and a chamber of commerce which has been in the habit of indorsing, the union has been trying to persuade the commerce committee to undertake to indorse only members of the union.

To summarize the replies to this question, it may be said that in 23 out of 38 cities the chamber of commerce shared the responsibility for indorsement with another agency; in 15 cities the financial federation shared it; and in 9, the council of social agencies was one of two or three indorsing authorities.

5. As has been said, the special interest here with reference to indorsement has to do with the question of bringing pressure to bear on an agency which it is thought should make more effective use of the social service exchange. The fifth question, therefore, was, "Is, or is not, use of the exchange an essential to indorsement?"

Of the 70 replies to this question, 32 were in the negative; 31 were in the affirmative, but with reservations; while 7 reported that registration was strongly advised but not required.

There are many interesting comments showing the widespread interest in the possibility of developing this kind of pressure. One secretary writes:

"We have tried to educate the agencies rather than make an absolute demand." Another writes: "Our Federation is working toward that standard." Still another writes: "We hope to have the Council make some such ruling." Another: "We are new and are just formulating policies." Another: "The idea of registration has not been sold to all our agencies, so that it is rather a case of begging them to register certain types of cases than a question of indorsement." Another: "As a matter of fact, most requests for indorsement are for bazaars, benefits, and solicitations for outside agencies."

The agencies reporting that registration was strongly urged but not required were in cities of varying sizes. One city wrote:

The Welfare Federation makes a thorough investigation of agencies asking to come into the Federation. They use the Exchange in making their investigations and if the agency is indorsed suggest that they use the Social Service Exchange. They, however, do not enforce it. When the Welfare Federation was organized a few years ago this was not a prerequisite and a number of the agencies now in the Federation do not use the Exchange.

Another city wrote as follows: "The issue is not forced in all cases. We are trusting to education."

Here again, in the cities reporting that registration was essential to indorsement, there are comments that both show the general interest in the problem and suggest lines along which development is taking place as distinctions can be more carefully drawn and more widely agreed to. The principle is applied, for example, to "case-work agencies" or to "relief-giving agencies"; or, in some cities, "registration of proper cases" is said to be required.

Some extracts from the replies follow:

One secretary writes: "The Council of Social Agencies requires relief giving agencies and case working agencies participating in the Community Fund to register." Another says: "An agency applying for admission to the Council of Social Agencies is studied in reference to eight points. One of these is, 'Does it make use of the Confidential Exchange?' (If applicable to its work). In all recent admissions compliances with all these requirements or reasonable assurance that they will be met in a year has been a prerequisite."

The secretary in a city in which there is a federation writes: "Membership in the Federation for Community Service constitutes indorsement." The requirements state: "Since the Exchange makes available for social workers informa-

tion concerning their clients, the use of which will save them and prevent overlapping of services and will also conserve the best interests of their clients, organizations should require their workers to use the Social Service Exchange intelligently and routinely." As for agencies outside of the Federation, the secretary says: "Many citizens when solicited for financial contributions call us to ascertain the character of the work being done by the soliciting agency and inquiring if organizations supported by the Federation are doing the same type of work. Under these circumstances we state what the Federation's minimum requirements are, tell what other organizations, if any, are doing the same sort of work, always being careful not to advise whether contributions should be given or withheld."

Another secretary says: "If the agency in question is of the type which would profit by the use of the Exchange, such registration is pressed and if this recommendation is not followed, future indorsement would be held up."

And again another writes: "Yes, for case working agencies. The Salvation Army Rescue Home has not been required to register but agreed to do so recently. Prior to organizing the Public Welfare Bureau in 1917, agencies were required to register as one condition of indorsement by Retail Merchants. This is required now of agencies admitted to the Community Chest or Public Welfare Bureau."

In another of the smaller cities, in the statement concerning conditions imposed by the community fund on its members is the following: "In giving relief or personal service to families or individuals, it shall register with the Social Service Exchange all families and individuals receiving or applying for relief or social treatment or care." In another smaller city, there is a federation which requires all affiliated agencies to register. There seems to be, however, a chamber of commerce, which indorses other agencies, apparently without demanding registration.

6. "Is indorsement given annually?" The possibility of using pressure in connection with indorsement toward a more effective use of the exchange is obviously related not only to the original admission of an agency or institution to the status of recognized competence but also to the periodic renewal of judgment upon its fitness for membership in the social work group. Sixty-three replies dealt with this question, 32 reporting that an annual indorsement was the practice. Cities of all sizes were represented among those reporting.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The 32 cities in which indorsement is renewed annually are: in Class 1, Chicago; in Class 2, Buffalo, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis; in Class 3, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Toronto, and Washington; in Class 4, Akron, Birmingham, Dayton, New Bedford, Norfolk, Oakland, Providence, and Toledo; in Class 5, Charles-

7. "What conditions must be met for renewal of indorsement?" Only 32 replies to this question were received;<sup>1</sup> and, as the executives who were good enough to reply were at this point speaking of matters not of their own administrative responsibility, the replies were in some cases less satisfactory than those relating to their own work. As the information is interesting, however, and not generally available, the statements will be quoted as made in the replies:

The Chicago executive reports, for example, that indorsement is renewed on the same terms on which it is at first granted, which are: that (1) the agency is incorporated as a "corporation not for profit and is under satisfactory local management; (2) the value of the work must be commensurate with the amount of money expended; (3) organizations engaged in relief work shall register with the Social Service Exchange (in reporting upon social agencies, use of the Exchange is considered as giving evidence of cooperation); (4) new organizations shall fill a need not already met; (5) methods of money raising shall be approved by the Association of Commerce and accounts audited by a certified accountant."

From New York: "In reporting upon social agencies, use of the Exchange is considered as giving evidence of co-operation."

From Buffalo: "A reasonable number out of seven requirements published by the Chamber of Commerce must be met."

From Cleveland: "It depends upon the type of agency."

From Pittsburgh: "Proper accounting is required."

From St. Louis: "It depends upon the status of the agency."

From Kansas City: "Requirements for endorsement are: (1) a responsible Board of Directors; (2) depositing funds in the name of the treasurer; (3) paying bills by check; (4) the need of the agency in the community; (5) a full report of the work."

ton, Flint, Madison, Moline, Rockford, Rock Island, San Jose, Springfield (Illinois), Tampa, and Wilkes-Barre; and in Class 6, Attleboro, Bloomfield, Red Bank, and Webster Groves.

The 31 cities saying that indorsement is not given annually are: in Class 1, Philadelphia; in Class 2, Detroit; in Class 3, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Montreal, and Seattle; in Class 4, Bridgeport, Columbus, Grand Rapids, Honolulu, Manila, Richmond, Salt Lake City, and Spokane; in Class 5, Bethlehem, Oklahoma City, Johnstown, Knoxville, Little Rock, Manchester, Ottawa, Portland (Maine), Schenectady, and Tampa; and in Class 6, Astoria, Bismarck, Boulder, and Santa Barbara. No report, 3.

<sup>1</sup> The replies came from the following cities: Class 1, Chicago and New York; Class 2, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis; Class 3, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Newark, Seattle, and Toronto; Class 4, Akron, Birmingham, Dayton, New Bedford, Norfolk, and Spokane; Class 5, Charleston, Danville, Flint, Fresno, Hamilton, Madison, Ottawa, Pasadena, and Springfield (Illinois). And among the group of smallest cities, Bloomfield, Boulder, Red Bank, and Webster Groves. No report, 2.

From Newark the reply is that "Agencies must have a Board of Trustees or a governing Board composed of prominent citizens, stated monthly meetings, and properly audited accounts before they can become participating members. Agencies in the state must be endorsed by the State Department of Institutions and Agencies."

From Seattle: "The Community Fund bases its endorsement (although not annual) on (a) an organized Board of Directors; (b) an accredited bookkeeping system; (c) the need of the agency in the community."

From Birmingham: "To receive indorsement the proposed work of the agency must fill a need not cared for by some other social agency."

From Dayton: "Work must be up to standard."

From Norfolk: "Approval for renewal of membership is usually given if the object of solicitation is considered necessary and honest and not a duplication of work in the community."

From Charleston: "The work must be first rate."

From Danville: "The agency must do bona fide work; allow no duplication; do the most efficient kind of work in their line and the kind of work the community needs."

From Flint: "Co-operation with the Exchange is necessary."

From Hamilton: "Indorsement is based upon the community need for the work of the agency and on the possibility of securing financial support for the agency."

From Madison: "Financial reports of all moneys spent and a detailed budget for the amount asked for are required. Service reports are being made a requisite. This year Agency [X] was dropped from the Community Union, which did not approve of their administration of relief and did not wish to give money for religious work. Agency [X] was unable to show records of how money given by the Community Union for relief work had been administered. Agencies such as Agency [X] and Agency [Y], which now have their own campaigns for raising money, try to get the indorsement of the Association of Commerce. However, if this is not given, they can proceed to put their campaigns on anyway."

From Pasadena: "Need of the work; the ability of the agency to do the work and continued good work are taken into consideration."

From Springfield (Illinois): "The same requirements hold for renewals as for first indorsements."

From Boulder the secretary writes: "The budget committee must indorse the program."

From Bloomfield: "An agency recognized by the State Board is indorsed by the Chamber of Commerce. Membership is automatically renewed unless the society has become unfavorably known."

From Webster Groves: "Indorsement depends upon the character and amount of the work accomplished."

8. "Does the indorsing agency co-operate in making the use of the exchange more efficient? In what way?" To this question, suggesting the possibility of co-operation between the indorsing agency and the exchange, 30 executives replied in the negative,<sup>1</sup> 31 executives replied in the affirmative,<sup>2</sup> and 3 reported efforts to the end suggested by the questions.<sup>3</sup> Among the replies received were the following:

From a Pacific Coast secretary: "The indorsing agency does not yet understand Exchange work well enough to do this."

From a small middle western city: "Each year the Community Union has operated on such a large deficit that the Exchange has suffered."

From another middle western secretary: "It is a regrettable fact that the Exchange has for some time almost ceased to function. While it is a part of the Federation, little effort is made by that office to strengthen its use."

The comments of many of the executives who sent affirmative replies are interesting. Thus a large city executive writes that the chest urges the use of the exchange upon its agencies and checks up often on their practice. Another large city executive reports that the indorsing committee requires that agencies engaged in relief work register and share the cost of the exchange. A Pacific Coast city reports:

The Social Exchange in — has never been very popular, and little has been done until the past year or two to educate the agencies to its use. The work has been of a quite constructive nature among the workers who should use the Exchange. Efficient service by the Exchange itself has done as much as anything to prove its usefulness.

<sup>1</sup> Those replying in the negative included: in Class 1, Chicago and Philadelphia; in Class 2, Baltimore, Los Angeles, and Pittsburgh; in Class 3, Kansas City (Missouri) and Washington; in Class 4, Norfolk, Oakland, Providence, Winnipeg, and Yonkers; in Class 5, Bangor, Charleston, Flint, Harrisburg, Hamilton, Johnstown, Lawrence, Little Rock, New Britain, Madison, South Bend, Santa Clara County; and in Class 6, Astoria, Attleboro, Bloomfield, Boulder, and Webster Groves. No report, 1.

<sup>2</sup> The cities from which affirmative replies came were: in Class 1, no cities; in Class 2, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and St. Louis; in Class 3, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Montreal, and Seattle; in Class 4, Birmingham, Bridgeport, Columbus, Dayton, Honolulu, Manila, Omaha, Ottawa, Reading, Salt Lake City, and Toledo; and in the group of smaller cities, Bethlehem, Knoxville, Manchester, Moline, Oklahoma City, Pasadena, Portland, Rock Island, Tampa, and Wilkes-Barre. No report, 1.

<sup>3</sup> In Duluth, Mobile, and Worcester, efforts are being put forth to develop more active co-operation in this direction.



There are many such comments as:

"The Council of Social Agencies constantly urges agencies to use the Exchange and reports such instances to the Exchange secretary so that she can follow them up. The Council prefers to use persuasion rather than force"; or again: "By always 'talking' Exchange. By sending out stories of how time and money could have been saved had the Exchange been used"; or "By stating that full use of the Exchange is expected"; and again: "Through recommendations and finance"; "By reporting and identifying." One Secretary replied, laconically, "Naturally, yes." Another wrote: "The indorsing agency insists on organizations using the Exchange"; and another: "By conferences over questionable cases, by publicity and by service"; and again: "By enlisting more consistent cooperation of the agencies using the Exchange"; and still further, "By giving publicity through the campaign and other meetings."

9. "Is membership in the organization under which the exchange functions necessary in order that the agency may have the services of the exchange?" To this question 6 cities—New York and St. Louis among the larger cities, and Little Rock, Oklahoma City, Media, and Webster Groves among the smaller cities—answered in the affirmative. The others replied in the negative or did not reply to this question. One of the executives reports that "occasionally, ministers and church workers use the Exchange in special cases coming to their attention."

The comments of some of those replying in the negative are interesting. Thus a southern executive writes:

"The Exchange is not only the Clearing House for the Community Chest agencies but for all social service departments of churches, clubs, schools, courts, health and fraternal organizations."

A middle western secretary in a small city writes: "We are glad to have outsiders use the Social Service Exchange and are constantly bending our efforts to increase our usefulness in that direction. It is now used by the Juvenile Court, city physicians, school attendance officers, Public Health League, Welfare Departments of Industry, and churches."

A large city secretary says: "We have heavy users among the courts, and special departments of the Board of Education who are not members of the Federation."

A Pacific Coast executive, too, says: "It is not necessary for agencies to be in the Community Fund group in order to have the services of the Exchange. Many outside agencies such as the Juvenile Court, the Public Welfare Bureaus and the Woman's Protective Division of the Police Department, etc., use the service of the Exchange."

An Eastern executive replies that outsiders may use the exchange "provided the registrar is assured that the interest of the inquirer is for the welfare of the community."

Reference has been made to the peculiar character of the service rendered by the exchange in that its "clients" are other agencies and only indirectly the persons who are in distress and needing aid. The executives of exchanges therefore have their attention claimed constantly by problems of case work but are not often in a position directly to affect and determine the standards of the agencies making use of the files. It is inevitable, however, that the executives should take a very real interest in the effectiveness with which the material assembled in their files is used and with the maintenance of good standards of work and the establishment of co-operative relations justifying the cost of maintaining the exchange. Questions 10 and 11 were framed with this interest in mind, and for the purpose of learning how far the executives were entering actively into the attempt to secure more effective use of the data in their files, first by learning what the agencies did and secondly by offering aid and assistance to the agencies.

10. The replies to the question "What does the exchange do in the way of keeping track of the use made of information given to the agencies?" register interesting reactions to the suggestion that the duties of the exchange do not end with the assembling, recording, and distribution of the facts with reference to the participation of the various agencies in the care of specified cases. Of the 63 executives replying to this question, 36 answered simply in the negative; 6 reported that they have not worked out any satisfactory plan for accomplishing this result; 9 reported an effort to accomplish this end by conference and consultation; 8 reported that they urge agencies to make use of their information and visit the offices of the agencies to stimulate interest. Three reported that very little has been done along this line; in Minneapolis, Salt Lake City, and Toronto plans in this direction are being worked out, and the executives in Boston consider that this is not a function of the Exchange.

Many of the comments on this question have a general interest. For example, one secretary writes, "We are unable to follow up notifications."

The letter from one of the oldest agencies is especially interesting. The executive reports that the registration bureau had been in existence a quarter of a century when she took it over.

The first thing we did was to scrap the system of duplicate records, a fundamentally wasteful system, which we replaced by the scheme of identification card only, the system now in vogue.

From the start we used the notification slip as a method of follow up. We got several of the Executives who were in sympathy with our plan to seize every opportunity to point out the advantage to the "family in need" of having those yellow slips used as soon as the mail brought them. These key executives used to call the agencies that failed to call them on individual cases and when anything important happened they would tell me about it. It was all quite informal.

When the School of Social Work got going the students were taught how to use the Central Index and the need for follow up became less pressing as the agencies began to hire trained workers.

We early took the position that the Central Index is neither censor nor critic of the work of the agencies. From the start we helped them to arrange forms and blanks and to set up filing systems. We did not call conferences or presume to teach case work. Neither did we undertake to solve problems of co-operation. We let the agencies do their own missionary work. I think our attitude of non-interference has had a great deal to do with the confidence that the agencies have in us and accounts in large measure for the extraordinary growth of our service throughout the state.

We have never had any trouble from agencies which have no "trained" standards and make occasional use of the Index. We are not one hundred per cent. The probation group lags, and I have felt it more advantageous to social work in this community to extend our service through the state than it would have been to scuttle about after church sewing-societies and the like. There is danger in being too intensive!

The days of the glorified detective bureaus have gone.

I believe that the development of the Councils of Social Agencies, Bureaus for Research and Welfare Federations, of which the Central Index will form an important part, is likely to attract to the field a more business-like type of worker than has yet appeared. The Central Index will not be looked on as an ornament or a burden but instead will be recognized as the pivot on which social case work will turn.

Another executive writes:

The Exchange has no direct method of keeping track of the use made of its information by the agencies, but the secretary makes it her business to visit agencies, talk with staff members occasionally, sends out information letters and so on to keep the agencies alive to the value of the Exchange.

Again another executive says:

Officially I do not know how the Exchange can keep track of the use made of the information given to the agencies without laying itself open to the charge of interference.

Statements like the following from various cities are interesting:

"Group conferences are held of registering agencies and individual conference with negligent agencies."

"Agencies are asked to report to the Confidential Exchange Secretary instances coming to their attention where other agencies have not followed up registrations, also instances where information has been used to very good advantage. The Secretary uses these stories in attempting to sell the Exchange to prospective users."

"This question is frequently brought up for discussion at our general committee meetings. The members of the Committees are executives of the agencies using the Exchange."

"Being a small town the use that is made of it is pretty well discussed in the social workers' circles."

"Inquiries are made by the Secretary from time to time and questions asked at conferences."

"Through a careful system of filing, checking, and conferring on duplication. Surveys of special needs are shown by the character of the appeal for help."

"We have no regular system of keeping track of the use made of information we give. It has been done mostly by personal contact of the Secretary with the executives of other organizations and brought up when possible in informal meetings. We, are, however, planning this year to use all existing groups and committees to help stimulate interest in the Exchange and make more effective the reports given. It is to be discussed in the Hospital Social Service group, the children's group, the family sections and a committee has recently been appointed on relationship of agencies where the question of the use of the Exchange is bound to be discussed."

"Talking, follow-up constantly. Getting agencies to train new staff members to call each agency."

"Each agency is constantly urged to make intelligent use of information furnished, but no check is made."

"It is practically impossible to ascertain what use is made of information given to agencies. Visits are made to agencies by the secretary to find out the policies and practices of each agency in its use of Exchange. Agencies report back to the Exchange in some cases when there has been a failure either to follow up information or to use the Exchange."

"Teach them to use it and file with case histories. No further check up."

"We are at the point now where we are stimulating case conferences with a view among other things to check up on the use agencies make of the information."

11. In question 11, as has been said, the possible contribution by the executive to the leveling up of case standards is suggested, and the experience of the exchanges in attempting to do this is asked for. The question read: "How does the exchange attempt to be of assistance to the registering agency in making effective use of the information obtained from the exchange?" To this question, which relates itself to the ninth and tenth, 35 exchanges report that they do nothing. Five cities report that they have effective follow-up work. One executive writes, for example:

"The greatest use can be had by following up the clues by the Exchange to the inquiring agencies. Then by making the Exchange so valuable to them so that it becomes their very A.B.C. or first thought in every case."

Another secretary says: "Checking up on agencies who show an unwillingness to give summaries to inquiring agencies. Furnishing all sorts of information regarding names of persons to call, etc."

Three cities report that they serve in an advisory capacity. One city reports that the exchange calls conferences on cases in which several agencies are interested.

Thirty-one report that they have some kind of educational program, and as their experiences may prove suggestive, their replies are quoted verbatim.

Among the replies coming from the 31 cities with some sort of educational plan are the following:

The executive of one of the large eastern cities writes of the exchange:

"As our society has been going through such a period of reorganization and I have been here such a short time, we have been concentrating rather on getting the agencies to use the Exchange regularly on all cases. We are just this year making plans to get them to use it more intelligently and follow up the information given. In the past we have relied almost entirely upon personal contacts, which is difficult in a large city where there are so many hundred agencies. The agencies here have really not known how to use the Exchange. That has been the fault of the Exchange as it has not made the attempt to interpret it to them and has not attempted to give adequate service. While we have been in existence for twelve years or more, I feel as though we are just starting out.

"We have known that agencies have not requested information on all their cases and have wondered if one reason they did not do so was that we had kept only one date on our cards and because they were such old dates, 1912, 1915, the agencies did not think of them as being active, or as having recent information,

and therefore failed to get in touch with one another. For six of the large agencies we are now entering a second date. We obtained their list of active cases the first of August, and made the entry on our card. This year they will register all new and old cases. We will only make one entry for the year. We have been wondering if a periodical registration was not better than the old plan. At the end of the year we will try to determine whether or not this second registration has had any effect and whether we should register once a year or once in three years or five years. We are just feeling our way and do not know how we will come out. If the plan of periodical registration is followed it will mean the elimination of notifications on the part of the Exchange on all their old records. This will save a great deal of work of the Exchange and also for the agency.

"We are also planning to issue an occasional bulletin trying to stimulate interest in the Exchange by case stories and suggestions of how they can obtain the most effective use of the information. The secretary has had the opportunity to make suggestions when securing the cooperation of new agencies and in discussing problems with various executives."

Another large eastern city reports: "Through personal contact of secretary, who visits staff meetings of social agencies, uses the investigating staff of the Bureau of Advice and Information for urging the use of the Exchange and takes occasion to talk on the telephone on every possible occasion about a more effective use of the Social Service Exchange."

A large middle western city writes: "Hold case conferences to permit agencies to confer on over-registered cases. Supervision of the case work of an agency does not belong to the Exchange."

From another large eastern city: "When a family is known to three or four agencies and the workers are at a loss to know just what to do, the Welfare Director will call a meeting of all interested agencies and individuals and the case is fully discussed and some definite understanding of the disposition of the case is made agreeable to all. A news letter is mailed monthly to all Exchange co-operators and to the president of the participating agencies giving all items of interest; also the monthly statistical report showing what agencies have made use of the Exchange and to what extent. The Exchange does not, however, attempt to keep track of the use made by agencies of the information received from the Exchange. They know that it is to their advantage to use the information given them."

From other cities:

"By showing what use can be made of the Social Service Exchange."

"By example and illustration."

"(a) Explaining the advantage to be secured to new workers; (b) Group meetings with agencies; (c) Monthly news letters which reiterate constantly how to use the Exchange."

"Various ways, yet nothing specific."

"By getting together in small groups the agencies interested in a problem case and having them discuss and decide on a plan for all interested."

"Special conferences for unfamiliar and uninformed agencies."

"The secretary visits agencies and makes personal contacts with workers."

"By notifying all concerned of any apparent duplications."

"Little follow-up work is done. Case conferences are called between agencies interested in common problems."

"The Exchange sometimes undertakes to bring about a conference between agencies where the problems involved would justify."

"The Adjustment clerk is doing a great deal to help agencies to understand. If information on an inquiry gets badly confused she must straighten it out with the agency. Further, the director talks to new workers in the agencies, to groups of workers, to meetings and encourages case conferences."

"We make a special effort in — to bring our workers together so they really know each other and the type of service each organization can render."

"(a) By demonstration; (b) by inviting new workers to visit the Exchange; (c) by following up instances where difficulties have arisen or time has been wasted because the agency did not follow-up registration; (d) by asking several of the older agencies to take special pains to follow up all registrations of a new user of the Exchange or an old member who is not using information received from Exchange; (e) by attending staff meetings of agencies and talking to the workers."

"By performing the routine service of calling case conferences at the request of the agencies."

"(1) Have workers visit the Exchange office and have details and workings explained thoroughly before starting use of it. (2) Visiting cooperating agencies. (3) Requesting old cooperators to follow up immediately the Exchange report especially when the family is known to a new Exchange cooperator."

"Several meetings for education and publicity."

"If there is doubt of a contact being made the Exchange secretary tries tactfully to arrange a conference between all agencies interested."

"Takes initiative in calling conferences between different agencies affected by duplication. Smooths difficulties, etc."

"By impressing on the registering agency the value to itself and to its clients of concerted effort. When once the agency senses this value half the battle is won."

"Mostly personal contacts with agencies and executives. I try to assist in arranging case conferences if necessary although I feel that that phase of the work should rest largely with the agencies themselves. We make an attempt to have all new workers and students visit the Exchange itself or otherwise explain the Exchange to them. Our feeling is that when people know what the Exchange does they will without exception do all follow-up work without any special prodding. Most agencies already feel that their registration is useless without intelligent use of reports that are made."

"Monthly bulletins and personal contacts."

"The Exchange furnishes to each agency using the Exchange a hand-



book giving all blanks and explanations regarding the use of the Exchange. The Committee on Policies and Practices in the use of the Exchange have outlined procedure for each type of agency but as the committee completes each group, the material will be added to the Handbook which is a loose leaf book."

"Monthly itemized reports of the amount of clearing done by each agency; also educational bulletins covering problems and outstanding achievements; educating small groups at Exchange headquarters."

"Occasional meetings of registering agencies are held to discuss this question. Some visits to agencies are made."

"The new registrar was engaged with a view to do considerable educative work along this line but it is too soon to speak of any definite plans."

"By meeting of all those using the Social Service Exchange."

"Only what registrar gives through her contacts."

The executives of four cities are very clear as to the importance of relying on persuasion and education rather than on compulsion.

One of these secretaries writes:

"The policy has always been against holding the big stick over agencies. We hope and expect through education and publicity to convince all our agencies of the advantage of using the Exchange."

"We are very anxious to have all agencies register. We have felt that they should be persuaded and not forced," is the way in which another executive expressed this view. And a third secretary says: "We believe that all organizations in the community wish to co-operate with the Social Service Exchange by registering every case coming to their attention. However, we realize that many do not do so."

Twenty-five executives report that they do nothing with this object in view. Some of their comments are extremely interesting:

From a southern city: "We give accurate mail and telephone information. After that our responsibility ends."

From a small middle western city: "The function of the Social Service Exchange is simply to keep the record of registrations with adequate identifying information. It is up to the organizations by direct inquiry of each other for details of cases to make the information effective."

From a large middle western city: "I do not believe an Exchange can deliberately set out to supervise or criticize the work of any one of the agencies."

From the Pacific Coast: "It does not give assistance unless asked to do so."

The executives of four cities speak particularly of the difficulty of educating social agencies to the proper use of the Exchange:

A western secretary says: "We have a superabundance of interlocking agencies. We do not get much help from any of them."

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"The Exchange is not very successful other than in securing registrations which are not made promptly. The committee is now working to formulate plans for development," is a quotation from another report.

Another executive writes: "The greatest need is a wider and more regular use of the Exchange."

"Our greatest problem is how to educate agencies with untrained workers to the use of the Exchange," is the experience of a Pacific Coast secretary.

The executives of three other cities express views that will interest readers in other communities:

A Southern secretary writes: "We try to emphasize the importance of the special information blanks. These enable us to keep our cards up to date as to address, deaths and births."

From a Pacific Coast city the opinion is expressed: "In this locality the Exchange had to be sold to various agencies which had been in existence a long time running without any check and feeling quite contented. The Exchange is a development out of the Chest so far as it works here. Frankly, we consider the Exchange a means to an end; not the end. If some agencies travel a different road and reach the same end we do not cross swords with them nor cast them out. For us we believe that if the Exchange cannot in time with good management justify itself there is something wrong in the idea. We started out with a small group and after three years, all but two of our agencies use the Exchange, most of them very faithfully and contentedly. With trained social workers running our charities, care has to be taken that machinery and devices for efficiency are not magnified to take precedence in all cases and without question over the real work of society, namely, the care of the sick, the young, the old and the unfortunate. Too much rigidity will kill the instincts and motives which lie back of Americanism and giving."

Another Southern secretary says: "Demonstrate its value by individual contacts with agencies and public officials quietly. Too much publicity should be avoided if misunderstanding is to be kept down."

From the executives of four other cities come suggestive statements showing how local conditions affect these sources.

A middle western secretary in a small city writes: "About eight years ago the Associated Charities established a Confidential Exchange and has urged the use of it by various agencies. However it has failed to function; no one uses it. We enter the names of agencies whenever it comes to our attention that a case is known to any one of them. At present the Social Service Exchange is being established; the officers talk of taking over what has been started and developing the use of it."

The account of another situation is given as follows: "The Social Service Exchange of — until October, 1926, had been under the Office of the Public

Welfare Commissioner. As the Associated Charities improved in its methods it became recognized by leading social service organizations in — as the source of help for many of their cases. Hence the Public Welfare Commissioner saw it fit and desirable to transfer the Exchange to the Associated Charities of — but directing the work of the Exchange during the period of transition. This arrangement has proved beneficial to the administration of the Exchange as the same person who receives the application for assistance in the Associated Charities also keeps track of the inquiries and registration in the Exchange. This person can carry on both because the volume of work of the Exchange is small on account of the small number of the Social Welfare organizations in the city."

Executives of five other cities express the belief that a change in organization or different methods of finance would improve the work of the exchange. They write as follows:

"We are considering financing it through agencies. There is no Council of Social Agencies in —. It is mostly done by volunteers heretofore or left until other work is not pressing. A committee on the Exchange appointed by the Community Welfare Board of Directors is at work on plans for making the Exchange more effective."

"The administration of the Exchange may change its form after a survey of the social situation here is made. The idea seems to be to have the Exchange stand independently."

"We are organizing a Community Chest. This will insist on full use of the Exchange by agencies registering."

"It would be far better to have the Exchange in the Community Chest office or in the office of the Council of Social Agencies whenever our Council is developed to that status. The prerequisite of registering with the Social Service Exchange required by the Community Chest would be a great aid to the Social Service Exchange."

"We believe that the Exchange should be under the Council of Social Agencies and that the Endorsement Committee should require case working agencies to register."

In conclusion, it may again be pointed out that communities of all sizes are facing very much the same problems, differing perhaps chiefly in the volume of the load they carry and the complexity of the organization for applying the appropriate remedy to a particular manifestation of distress. As the possibilities of adequate treatment seem within reach, obstacles, especially in what might be called the mechanical arrangements for co-operation, become more irksome.

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Certainly, in connection with such questions as these, pooling experience, sharing conclusions, and the development of opportunities for what Miss Follett characterizes as "constructive experience" become of very great importance.

FRANCELIA STUENKEL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NOTE.—The cities from which replies to the questionnaire were received fall into six population groups as follows:

Class 1 (population 1,000,000 or more) 4 cities:

Brooklyn	Chicago	New York	Philadelphia
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Class 2 (population 500,000 and less than 1,000,000) 9 cities:

Baltimore	Cleveland	Los Angeles	St. Louis
Boston	Detroit	Pittsburgh	San Francisco
Buffalo			

Class 3 (population 250,000 and less than 500,000) 15 cities:

Cincinnati	Kansas City (Mo.)	Newark	Seattle
Denver	Milwaukee	New Orleans	Toronto
Indianapolis	Minneapolis	Portland (Ore.)	Washington (D.C.)
Jersey City	Montreal	Rochester (N.Y.)	

Class 4 (population 100,000 and less than 250,000) 42 cities:

Akron	Grand Rapids	Providence	Trenton
Albany	Hartford	Reading	Vancouver
Atlanta	Kansas City (Kan.)	Richmond	Wilmington
Birmingham	Louisville	St. Paul	Winnipeg
Bridgeport	Lowell	Salt Lake City	Worcester
Columbus	Memphis	San Antonio	Yonkers
Dallas	New Bedford	Scranton	Youngstown
Dayton	New Haven	Spokane	Honolulu
Des Moines	Norfolk (Va.)	Springfield (Mass.)	Manila
Erie	Oakland	Syracuse	
Fall River	Omaha	Toledo	

Class 5 (population 25,000 and less than 100,000) 83 cities:

Auburn	Evansville	Johnstown (Pa.)	New Brunswick
Bangor	Flint	Kalamazoo	Newburgh
Battle Creek	Fort Wayne	Knoxville	New London
Bethlehem	Fresno	Lansing	Newport
Canton	Green Bay	Lawrence (Mass.)	Norristown
Charleston (S.C.)	Hamilton (Ohio)	Little Rock	Norwich
Chattanooga	Hagerstown (Md.)	Lynn	Oklahoma City
Danville	Harrisburg (Pa.)	Madison (Wis.)	Orange
Davenport	Hazelton	Manchester (N.H.)	Ottawa
Decatur	Holyoke	Miami	Pasadena
Duluth	Huntington	Mobile	Passaic
Easton	Jacksonville (Fla.)	Moline	Pawtucket
Elmira	Jamestown (N.Y.)	New Britain	Peoria

Class 5 (population 25,000 and less than 100,000) 83 cities (*Continued*):

Petersburg	Rock Island	South Bend	Troy
Pittsfield	St. Joseph	Springfield (Ill.)	Tulsa
Port Huron	San Jose, or Santa Clara County	Springfield (Ohio)	Utica
Portland (Me.)		Stamford	Warren (Ohio)
Poughkeepsie	Savannah	Tacoma	Wichita
Pueblo	Schenectady	Tampa	Wilkes-Barre
Quincy (Mass.)	Sheboygan	Terre Haute	Williamsport
Rockford	Sioux City	Topeka	York

## Class 6 (population less than 25,000) 28 cities:

Astoria (Ore.)	Fond du Lac (Wis.)	Logansport (Ind.)	Santa Barbara (Cal.)
Athol (Mass.)	Geneva (N.Y.)	Media (Pa.)	
Attleboro (Mass.)	Gloucester (Mass.)	Morristown (N.J.)	Summit (N.J.)
Bismarck (N.D.)	Greensboro (N.C.)	New Brighton, or	Webster Groves (Mo.)
Bloomfield (N.J.)	Hannibal (Mo.)	Beaver Co. (Pa.)	
Boulder (Colo.)	Kewanee (Ill.)	Newtonville	White Plains, or
Burlington (Vt.)	Kingston (Ont.)	(Mass.)	Westchester Co. (N.Y.)
Butler (Pa.)	Lancaster (N.H.)	Red Bank, or Mon-	
Englewood (N.J.)	LaSalle (Ill.)	mouth Co. (N.J.)	

## SOURCE MATERIALS

### PRIZE MEDICAL SOCIAL CASE RECORD<sup>1</sup>

#### ANNA SZWYDKY

ON JULY 23, 1925, Anna Szwydky,<sup>2</sup> a non-English-speaking Ukrainian woman thirty years of age and without adequate funds for treatment, registered at the Mayo Clinic. She was alone and frightened and wholly incapacitated by a disease diagnosed as "an old infectious arthritis with ankylosis of both elbows and wrist joints and of the right hip and knee joint." She had been an invalid for five years. She had come from Saskatchewan, where her aged parents (father, a retired farmer, seventy-eight years old, and mother seventy-five years old) had lived since they immigrated, when Anna was five years old. She had a

<sup>1</sup>[The American Association of Hospital Social Workers has been for several years, through its committees, studying case records of hospital social workers and stimulating interest in the art of record-writing with the object both of increasing the interest in this work and of sharing with the members of the Association a knowledge of modern practice in this field. Prizes have now been twice offered for records submitted by members of the Association. The scale of marking and basis of judgment used by the Committee will be described in a monograph to be published by the University of Chicago Press at an early date, containing five of the records submitted in the 1927 contest. This case of Anna Szwydky, submitted by Miss Tennant, of the Mayo Clinic, is one of the two records between which the first prize was divided, the other being submitted by Mrs. Colina, of the Barnard Free Skin and Cancer hospital. We are greatly indebted to the members of the Committee, Miss Antoinette Cannon, Miss Edith Baker, and Mrs. Helen Anderson Young, and to the Secretary of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, Miss Helen Beckley, for permission to publish this record in advance.

The present record consists of four sections: (1) a social service report for medical history, a blue  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$  inch card, dated August 31, 1925, and containing entries until December 31, 1926, when the case is said to be closed; (2) a medical social service face sheet, white, likewise  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$  inches; (3) a financial sheet of the same dimensions, yellow, on which the receipts and disbursements are entered in parallel columns; (4) the continuous record.

For convenience in publication, the information on the three cards with reference to events occurring prior to July 31, 1925, the closing entries, and the financial facts are summarized and inserted at the appropriate point. In the publication of these cases later in monograph form, facsimile reproduction of these cards will be included.]

<sup>2</sup>This name is, of course, a fictitious one and not the real name of the patient. The names of other persons in the record have also been changed.

brother, John, who was thirty-five years old, a sister just younger than he, who was married and had a fourteen-year-old daughter in school. They too were living in Saskatchewan. A friend, Mrs. Grabko, had come with the patient to Rochester, when on July 23 the patient had registered at the clinic. She had been admitted to the hospital on July 29. As she was lonely and frightened, the social worker was called in July 31, 1925. Her record proceeds as follows]:

#### I. WHY REFERRED AND PRESENT SITUATION

Miss Smith, Ward Supervisor, asks worker to see patient. She is alone in Rochester, does not speak or understand English, and weeps constantly. The doctors are planning to operate this afternoon, and patient seems to want to say something which no one can understand.

#### II. MEDICAL DATA

A. *Remarks of consultant.*—"Girl is chronic invalid. Ankylosis both elbows and wrist joints; also right hip and knee joint. Marked deformity of hands. Surgery could help, but months, perhaps years, of treatment would be required. Will do resection of right arm so patient can get hand to mouth to feed herself. Doubt if further work is advisable."—DR. MILLER, Orthopedic Surgeon.

B. *Prognosis.*—Dr. Miller considers prognosis poor. Patient has been totally disabled for five years. Because of her frail physical condition and low morale he will only operate on her right arm. Patient will be in the hospital about one month.

C. *Plan of Treatment.*—Dr. Miller thinks patient can be given the use of her right arm. This will enable her to feed herself, write, etc. Following her recovery from this operation she can return home.

D. *Previous medical treatment.*—About seven years ago, while kneeling, patient was pushed over backwards, and something cracked in her right foot. The next day her foot felt numb and her ankle was swollen and tender. Other joints gradually began to swell. She went to bed and kept still because it hurt her to move. In a year's time she could not move, and her joints remained ankylosed.

In 1923 she went to a Hot Springs in Canada. She believes atrophy of her muscles set in following baths at the Springs. Dr. Erdman Tenner, of Rosthern, Saskatchewan, was the physician nearest her home. He saw her occasionally. After the pain in her joints began to disappear, he suggested that an operation might help her regain the use of her limbs. Some neighbors urged that she go to the Mayo Clinic for treatment.



(The following information was obtained from patient through an interpreter and later by talking with her; also, from Mrs. Grabko, who brought patient to Rochester. It was secured a little at a time in daily visits over the ten months while patient was in the hospital):

### III. ANALYSIS OF FAMILY BACKGROUND

A. *Early*.—About 1900, patient's parents left Ukrainia and moved to Western Canada. They brought with them their four sons and two daughters. The oldest boy, John, was fifteen and the youngest child was two. Patient's father had been a peasant. He and a number of his friends decided to migrate because of the difficulty of making a living in Europe.

A group of about fifty men, women, and children went to Canada and eventually settled in Saskatchewan. Patient's father took up land at St. Julian. The family has lived there for twenty-five years. The settlement is entirely Slavic and among the grown people the officials of the municipality are the only ones who use the English language.

The Greek Catholic is the established church.

Three of patient's younger brothers died when they were small. Her mother and father worked very hard to make a home and to cultivate the land. It had to be cleared of stones and noxious weeds. There were frequent crop failures due to dry weather and hail storms.

B. *Present*.—Members of present household and relatives:

Patient says her father is very feeble, she thinks he has heart trouble. He is not able to work the farm any longer.

Her mother is not strong, it is more than she can do to take care of the house.

Mrs. John Kindrachuk, patient's married sister, lives one mile from their farm. Her husband is a farmer. They have three children who go to school. Since patient has been ill, Mary (fourteen) the oldest girl has been accustomed to stop in three times a day on her way to and from school to wait on patient and to help her eat her meals.

Her brother, John, lives at Rosthern, which is 15 miles from St. Julian. He has "proved up" on a homestead which he farms. He has a family of five small children.

At home they use only the Ukrainian language. Patient and her brothers and sister attended a church school at St. Julian, as there was no public school at that time. She says her family are very religious; the church seems to be the center of their social life.

Patient says her parents and her sister are very kind to her and are anxious to help her all they can. She feels her brother John is not interest-

ed in her; he seldom comes to see her and has not helped her or her parents in any way.

Since patient has had to be in bed, the family has given up the living-room to her. Her bed nearly fills the room. Her family and any visitors are always there with her.

#### IV. PERSONAL HISTORY

A. *Early life*.—Patient was five years old when her parents moved to Canada. She remembers very little of her home in Europe.

B. *Education*.—After they settled in Saskatchewan she attended the church school. She learned to read and write in Slavic and studied the Bible. The winters were so severe that school held only a few months in the spring and fall. The priest was the teacher. She stopped school when she was fourteen years old to help on the farm.

C. *Occupation*.—She learned to help with the housework and the lighter work on the farm. After her brother and sister married, she was the only one her father had to depend upon. In the busy seasons she worked long hours. She helped with the ploughing and drove the binder when they were short of help.

D. *Religious interests*.—Patient is devoted to the church. Before she became ill she attended church regularly; when she could not go to church, the priest came to see her. This pleased her very much.

E. *Habits*.—(1) Diet: At home they live chiefly on a diet similar to what they had had in Europe. It consists of sausage, sauerkraut, potatoes, root vegetables, and rye bread. (2) Recreation: She seems to have had little recreation besides her church interests.

F. *Attitude*.—Toward (1) Home: Patient is very devoted to her home; she often talks about it and was very homesick after she came to the hospital. (2) Family: She speaks fondly of her parents. She worries lest something may happen to them while she is away. She often mentions the fact that her father and mother are feeble, and wishes that she could do something to help them. (3) Relatives: She thinks a great deal of her sister Mary (Mrs. Kindrachuk) and her children. She thinks her brother John is not much interested in her because he does not go to see her. (4) Friends: Patient occasionally speaks of some of the neighbors, but apparently is not very intimate with them. (5) Other known social agencies: There are no organized social agencies in patient's community. The secretary-treasurer of the municipality seems to be the one to whom people turn for assistance in carrying on business with the outside world. Patient has implicit confidence in him. St. Julian is in a sparsely

settled rural community. It is ten miles from the railroad and a hundred miles from Saskatoon, the nearest city.

G. *Attitude toward illness*.—At first patient had a very passive and resigned attitude toward her illness. She had been helpless so long that she had lost all initiative and desire to be a normal person. As she began to get motion in her hands and feet, her initiative returned; she showed a new interest in her surroundings; she developed self-confidence, and finally quite a cheerful attitude toward life in general.

#### V. RESIDENCE

A. *Legal residence*.—According to patient, her family has lived at St. Julian since 1900.

B. *Home environment*.—(1) Neighborhood: The neighborhood is sparsely settled; the nearest neighbor lives a mile away. (2) Housing conditions: The home is small. Worker has the impression it is only three or four rooms, all on one floor, and not substantially built. Patient says there are no conveniences in the house. They carry the water from a well and use an outside toilet. The house is heated with stoves. In winter it is banked and partly covered with tar paper.

#### VI. FINANCES

*Assets*.—Patient's father does not have a regular income. He rents his land to a neighbor who works it on shares. When there is a good crop his share may be as much as \$1,000 a year. When the crop is poor he does not receive anything. Since 1915 there have been frequent crop failures and losses through hail. When her father was younger he was fairly prosperous, according to patient. She believes he had about \$600 cash when she left home. Mrs. Kindrachuk gives them most of their meat and vegetables, so they do not have to buy a great deal of food.

*Liabilities*.—Patient believes that her father's farm is mortgaged, but she does not know for how much or who holds the mortgage. Her illness has cost her father a good deal of money.

#### VII. PATIENT'S PLAN

Patient hopes to be cured, but has no solution for her problem.

#### VIII. WORKER'S IMPRESSION

A. *Appearance of patient*.—When first seen in the ward, patient was more like a frightened animal than a human being. Her hair was long and straight and black. She was colorless and emaciated. Her eyes were large and appealing. She could not move in bed without assistance. She seemed the most helpless and pitiful person worker had ever seen.

B. *Impression of the problem as a whole.*—The problem as a whole was most discouraging. Worker thought that little, if anything, could be accomplished beyond finding the most comfortable place in which the patient might spend the rest of her life.

#### IX. TENTATIVE SOCIAL PLAN

Worker thinks following the operation on her arm, patient may be sent back to Canada and placed in a home for chronic invalids, where she would receive more adequate care than she seems to have in her own home.

#### X. ACTION TAKEN

July 31, 1925.—Worker calls John Ohab, dishwasher at the Colonial Hospital, who frequently interprets for Slavic patients, to talk with patient. Worker learns patient was accompanied to Rochester by Mrs. Grabko, a neighbor from St. Julian. They came in the baggage car. Patient brought her own iron bed, feather mattress, and bedding. This was left at the Great Western station. She was taken in the ambulance to the Damon Hospital, and her clinic examinations were carried on there. She had been transferred two days before to the Colonial Hospital.

Mrs. Grabko remained with patient two days and then went to Detroit, Michigan, for a visit. On her return she will stop for patient and take her home.

Patient's father paid Mrs. Grabko's expenses to and from Rochester to accompany patient. Patient is very much worried because the money for this trip was taken from money her father had saved for his old age.

Mrs. Grabko and patient were delayed a week in Winnipeg. The United States Immigration officials required a \$500 bond before patient could be admitted to the United States. Father Sikorski, the Polish priest, found them a place to stay; he wired to St. Julian, and after several days arranged the bond satisfactorily, and patient was allowed to cross the border.

Patient tells her story very excitedly. She weeps a great deal. She seems terrified of the strange surroundings and of what the doctors may do to her.

She seems relieved and reassured at being able to talk with John. He tells her she has nothing to fear from anyone, and whatever is done will be to help her. Worker stays while John explains to her worker's relation to the hospital, to clinic, and to patient.

Later in the day, worker accompanies patient to the operating-room.

## FURTHER MEDICAL DATA

*Operative diagnosis.*—Chronic infectious arthritis with ankylosis of right elbow.

*Operations.*—Arthroplasty of the right elbow. Excision of head of radius. Application of Plaster of Paris cast with arm at right angle (Dr. Miller, Orthopedic Surgeon).

*August 1, 1925.*—Worker visits patient in the ward. She is suffering greatly from the operation, and worker does not try to talk with her, but asks John to call to see her.

*August 3, 1925.*—Mrs. Grabko returns from Detroit. She is leaving at once for home. She thinks patient's brother will come for her when she is ready to leave. Mrs. Grabko does not understand English very well, so worker talks to her through an interpreter and explains what the doctors expect to accomplish for patient. Worker asks Mrs. Grabko to explain this to patient's parents and to tell them the clinic will keep them informed of her progress. Mrs. Grabko suggests that worker write Fred T. Baczuk, secretary-treasurer of the municipality, as he knows patient's family very well and was instrumental in arranging for patient to come to Rochester.

Dr. Miller writes to patient's home doctor about the operation and explains that he expects only to help her regain the use of her right arm.

*August 7, 1925.*—Letter written to Fred Baczuk, secretary-treasurer of the municipality of Fish Creek, Wakow, Saskatchewan:

MY DEAR MR. BACZUK: We think you might be interested in a report about Anna Szwydky, who has been a patient here for a few weeks. The doctors find that she has an old arthritis, which has stiffened both elbows and wrist-joints, and a partial stiffness of one knee. They operated on her right arm, hoping to loosen it so she might get her hand to her mouth enough to feed herself. She is getting along as well as can be expected.

The doctors do not think it will be possible to do much for Anna except to loosen her arm. We will not keep her here any longer than is absolutely necessary. She tells us her parent's finances are limited, but they are anxious to do all they can for her. We have placed her in the least expensive ward; the rate is three dollars per day. We believe her people are sending enough money to take care of her hospital expenses, which are payable in advance.

We are wondering what will be the best thing for Anna when she returns home. From what she tells us she cannot receive a great deal of care at home, as her mother and father are old and there is no one else to look after her. Is there a hospital or convalescent home for chronic invalids in Saskatchewan, where she could be cared for and made more comfortable than at home? If you know of any such place we should be glad to hear about it.

Very truly yours, MEDICAL SOCIAL SERVICE

## SUMMARY OF ACTION TO AUGUST 20, 1925

Worker sees patient every day and takes her flowers occasionally. Patient suffers a great deal and does not make any response of any kind. The nurses do everything possible for her; she eats practically nothing and cries most of the time. John visits her every day and tries to reassure her, but this does not seem to comfort her much.

*August 20, 1925.*—Letter received from Mr. Baczuk, secretary-treasurer of the municipality:

DEAR MADAM: I have your report regarding Anna Szwydky. It is rather encouraging to hear that something could be done for this unfortunate patient.

The Council of this Municipality have guaranteed to pay hospital charges for two months, and longer if necessary, on your recommendation. It all depends on the success of the first operation. If the operation on the right arm is successful, it might be well to repeat the same on the left arm and possibly on the knee.

Kindly request the management of the hospital to send their bills to me and report occasionally on the progress of the patient.

*August 20, 1925.*—Letter written to Dr. R. O. Davison, commissioner, Bureau of Public Health, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, as follows:

MY DEAR DR. DAVISON: We wish to inquire if there is a hospital or home in Saskatchewan where a patient who is helpless from chronic arthritis could be cared for.

Anna Szwydky, of St. Julian, Saskatchewan, has been a patient here for several weeks. She has an old infectious arthritis with ankylosis of both elbows and wrist joints and partial ankylosis of the right knee joint. Her right elbow has been operated upon to enable her to bend her arm to get her hand to her mouth so she can feed herself. The doctors do not think they can help her more than this, and it is likely she will be an invalid for the rest of her life.

She is thirty years old, single, born in Ukrainia, and speaks no English. She is a Greek Catholic. She has been living at home; her parents are very old and not able to give her the care she needs.

Could you suggest any convalescent home or institution for chronic invalids in Saskatchewan where she might get proper care? I think she would prefer a Catholic Institution if possible. She would probably be able to pay for her care for a time at least.

If you do not know of any place for her, could you suggest someone to whom we might write for information? We shall appreciate very much any help you can give us.

*August 22, 1925.*—Dr. Miller thinks patient's arm is doing so well that he is considering operating on her hip. He could help her considerably if he could keep her here for a few months.

Patient tells John she is willing to have the operation if the doctor thinks it will help her.

The municipality seems willing to guarantee her hospital expenses for a time.

FURTHER MEDICAL DATA, AUGUST 26, 1925

*Operative diagnosis.*—Chronic infectious arthritis with flexion deformity of right hip and knee.

*Operation.*—Soutter operation right hip. Tenotomy tendons right knee. Application of Plaster of Paris cast extending from toes to hip. Traction to be kept up in bed for at least a month.

The arthroplasty of the elbow could be flexed to about 40 degrees acute flexion and extending to about 160 degrees without any trouble (Dr. Miller, Orthopedic Surgeon).

*August 28, 1925.*—Patient suffered greatly following the second operation. She seems to enjoy talking to John; he writes letters home for her and reads to her. He is the only one who gets any response from her. It is too much effort for her to try to understand English. Worker calls on her two or three times each day and often takes a little gift, but does not try to talk.

*August 28, 1925.*—Letter written to Mr. Baczuk, secretary-treasurer of the municipality of Fish Creek:

I wish to thank you for your recent letter with regard to Anna Szwydky and for your authorization of the hospital expenses. Mr. Brown, manager of the Colonial Hospital, will write to you with regard to the bills.

The doctors operated yesterday on Anna's right knee. She is suffering a good deal of pain today, but we hope the operation on her arm has helped her considerably; but of course it is going to be a long time before she can use it to any great extent. The use of the arm or leg following such an operation comes slowly and depends on the perseverance and endurance of the patient. Anna receives daily massage and will be taught exercises for strengthening her arm.

Will you kindly get word to her people that she is doing as well as can be expected, and we hope she will be considerably improved when she returns home. Anna is very patient. We will let you know from time to time how she is getting along.

*August 31, 1925.*—Letter received from Dr. Davison, Department of Public Health, Saskatchewan:

In reply to your letter of August 19 regarding Anna Szwydky, I desire to inform you there is one institution in this province, administered by the Department of Public Works, for the care of such persons: The Home for the Infirm, at Wolseley, Saskatchewan. This institution is at present, I understand, filled to capacity, with a long waiting list. However, there exists also, at Whitewood,



Saskatchewan, a home where such cases are cared for, under the supervision of the Roman Catholic church. This institution is called the Joan of Arc Home, and it is quite possible arrangements might be made for admittance to this institution.

I trust the above gives the necessary information.

*Later.*—Worker shows letter to Dr. Miller. He thinks if patient could remain six months she would be walking and able to care for herself. He is very much pleased with the result of the second operation.

*September 3, 1925.*—John tells worker patient's money is gone, and she does not like to ask her parents for more, as she feels they are doing all they can for her. \$2.00 for incidental expenses given patient from social service fund. Patient given rubber ring from social service supplies. Worker takes Joe Grulchek, a patient working in occupational therapy department, to see her. He speaks her language and promises to see her often. Joe is very jolly and cheerful, and worker hopes he will be able to amuse patient. He takes a Ukrainian newspaper and will read to her.

*September 4, 1925.*—The physiotherapists have been working on patient's arm for some time. She has a little motion in it. Although it hurts her to bend her arm, she smiles faintly at what she can do.

Letter written to Dr. Davison, Department of Public Health, Saskatchewan:

I wish to thank you for your recent letter regarding institutions where we might secure care for Anna Szwydky when she is ready to leave the hospital. This information will be of great help to us. Thanking you for your courtesy.

Letter written to Steve Szwydky, patient's father, St. Julian, Saskatchewan:

I know that you have been receiving letters from Anna which the interpreter has written for her, and that you have heard from Dr. Miller, but I thought I would also write to tell you that she seems to be getting along nicely, and the doctors are very much pleased at the progress she is making.

She has suffered a good deal of pain, but she is very patient and does not complain. Her arm is rubbed every day to make it easier for her to move it. She appreciates letters from home more than anything else. I hope you will tell all her friends to write her as often as possible.

I should be glad to have you write me at any time if you wish to know anything in particular about Anna. We have an interpreter who can translate your letters. I see Anna every day.

#### SUMMARY OF ACTION TAKEN TO OCTOBER 15, 1925

There has not been much change in patient. She continues to show little interest in her surroundings. She seems to enjoy talking to John and

Joe. They are very faithful about visiting her; they write her letters and read to her.

There is no Greek Catholic church in town. Worker has talked over with John and Joe having a priest come to see patient, but they think there is no one in Rochester whose visit could mean anything to her. They belong to the Greek Catholic church, but do not attend any church here. Worker asks them to explain to patient that we are sorry we cannot find a priest to visit her.

FURTHER MEDICAL DATA, OCTOBER 15, 1925

*Operative diagnosis.*—Chronic infectious arthritis with flexion deformity of both hips and knees.

*Operation.*—Removal of cast from right leg. Application of new cast from toes to hip, with leg put up in extension of about 160 degrees. Cast on left leg removed. Removal of stitches. Wound healed. New cast applied, with leg put up in extension of about 110 degrees. She is to have an arthroplasty of left elbow and hip later (Dr. Miller, Orthopedic Surgeon).

Dr. Miller wrote patient's home doctor telling him a splendid elbow had been obtained on the right side. The right knee is almost straight, and the left knee is gradually being brought down. She has good motion in the right hip. He hopes she will be able to remain long enough to complete the treatment.

*October 19, 1925.*—The clinic receives a letter from the secretary-treasurer of the municipality guaranteeing patient's hospital expenses for two months more. "The Council are pleased to hear the operations were so successful and consider this case as a wonder of modern surgery. Anna's aged parents wish to express deep thanks for what is being done for their unfortunate daughter."

Patient is able to get her hand to her mouth, and yesterday used a spoon for the first time. All the nurses and patients in the ward gathered around to watch her. It took five minutes for her hand to get from the plate to her mouth. She needed a great deal of encouragement, but when it was accomplished she smiled broadly for the first time. The interest of other people seems to stimulate and please her.

FURTHER MEDICAL DATA, OCTOBER 23, 1925

*Operative diagnosis.*—Chronic infectious arthritis with ankylosis.

*Operation.*—Arthroplasty left elbow. Cast from wrist to shoulder—(Dr. Miller).

*October 26, 1925.*—Letter written to Steve Szwydky:

We think you will be glad to hear how Anna is getting along. She has been here a long time, but the doctors feel very much encouraged about her. She has

been ill so many years that it is taking her a long time to recover, but we all feel that she is making splendid progress.

There are not many things that Anna needs outside of her hospital care, but she does have to pay for her laundry and for a few little extras. Would it be possible for you to send her some spending money? Five or ten dollars would be a great help to her.

We will let you know in advance when she will be able to go home, so that someone can make arrangements to come for her.

*November 11, 1925.*—Patient has suffered a great deal since the last operation, and does not show much interest in her surroundings. \$2.00 to patient from social service fund for incidental expenses. Her father has not replied to the letter asking him to send her money.

FURTHER MEDICAL DATA, NOVEMBER 28, 1925

*Operative diagnosis.*—Chronic infectious arthritis left hip with ankylosis and adduction deformity.

*Operation.*—Arthroplasty left hip. Spica cast to toes (Dr. Miller).

*November 30, 1925.*—Miss Gray, a patient at the clinic, volunteers her services as a friendly visitor. She will be here several weeks and would like to make regular visits to some patient who is lonely. She is a middle-aged woman who has traveled widely and has many and varied interests. Worker thinks she will be able to entertain patient and help to cheer her up.

Worker takes Miss Gray to see patient and explains through the interpreter that Miss Gray is lonely and would like to come to see her and do anything she can for her. The expression on patient's face does not change. It is as if she did not understand what was said to her.

*December 1, 1925.*—Patient receives a letter from the bank at Rosthern telling her to apply for an extension of her bond which she gave when she entered the United States.

*December 2, 1925.*—Letter written to United States Immigration Commissioner at Winnipeg:

*Re* Bond—Canada Surety Co., to Anna Szwydky

The Bank of Montreal of Rosthern, Saskatchewan, has written asking that application be made to you for extension of the bond for Anna Szwydky. She is still a patient at the Colonial Hospital in this city and will probably be here several months yet. She was very much crippled with arthritis when she came, and it was necessary to operate on both arms and legs. She is still in bed and wears casts.

If you wish to have any papers filled out for the extension of this bond, if you will send them to us, we will see that they are taken care of, as Miss Szwydky does not speak or read English.

*December 7, 1925.*—Miss Gray tells worker she is getting discouraged with her efforts to interest patient. She has visited her every day and taken fruit, flowers, and jellies, but patient does not respond in any way. She does not seem to care for the fruit or jellies. Miss Gray wonders if she should discontinue her visits, but worker urges her not to do so now.

Worker feels even though patient does not respond, it means a great deal to have Miss Gray interested and coming regularly. Patient has suffered so much in the few months she has been in the hospital that she is worn out and does not have energy enough even to smile.

Dr. Miller considers the operations have been most successful and he thinks from this time on patient will begin to improve. He believes every effort to arouse her interest in things outside herself is helpful.

*December 12, 1925.*—Miss Gray told some of her friends about patient. They have sent patient boxes of cookies and candies through the mail. She has showed real pleasure at receiving the packages. With a little help she can cut the string with her right hand and open the packages herself. This seems to amuse and please her. Miss Gray has found patient is interested in religious pictures. She has a number of postcards with pictures of the Holy Family, the Christ Child, Angels, etc. She fastens two or three of these on the frame at the foot of patient's bed; she changes the pictures every day. Patient smiles and points to the pictures and seems to enjoy them. She is learning a few English words and understands a little of what is said to her in English. Worker can carry on a short conversation with her without the interpreter.

Joe and John are very faithful and come to see her every night when they are through with their work. Patient sometimes laughs out loud when they are there. Joe calls himself her "beau," and in a joking way tells patient he is very fond of her. She takes it all as a joke and seems very much amused.

*December 14, 1925.*—Patient receives \$10.00 from her father, and he writes he will send her more as soon as he can.

Patient has had notice she must pay \$5.00 for an extension of her bond at Winnipeg. Worker takes \$5.00 from the money her father sent and mails it to the immigration office at Winnipeg.

Dr. Miller is very much pleased at the progress patient is making. If he can keep her here six months longer he expects great results. By that time she should be walking and using her hands for writing, etc.

*December 26, 1925.*—Christmas was a gala occasion for patient. She probably received more gifts and remembrances than any two patients in the hospital. She was able to sit up in bed and wear the bed jacket Miss

Gray gave her. With a little help from the nurse she ate her Christmas dinner by herself. She tells worker, although she missed her family, she had never had such a happy Christmas.

Patient has become quite responsive, she smiles when she talks and says quite a few things in broken English.

*January 10, 1926.*—Patient receives letter from immigration office at Winnipeg asking for \$8.00 head tax for an extension of her bond.

*January 12, 1926.*—Letter to United States Immigration Office, Winnipeg:

In reply to your letter of January 8 regarding Anna Szwydky, I am inclosing a check for \$8.00 in payment of her head tax. I am interested to know if the full \$8.00 is returned if she goes back to Canada in six months. Whatever refund is made at that time can be paid to the Social Service Department, Mayo Clinic, as we are paying the tax.

*Later.*—Patient starts a wicker tray today under the direction of occupational therapy. It seems to please her very much to be able to do the same things other patients are doing.

The Colonial Hospital manager receives a letter from the secretary-treasurer of the municipality stating the Council has decided they cannot assume the responsibility for patient's hospital expenses after January 1, 1926. They are much interested in patient and feel a great deal has been accomplished for her, but because of their many calls for assistance, they are obliged to withdraw. Mr. Baczuk will see patient's father and brother, and he thinks between them they can send \$200, which will take care of patient's expenses until about March 1. Dr. Miller thinks he can let her go home by that time. By then she should be able to stand on her feet, and can practice walking at home.

*January 15, 1926.*—Patient writes her first letter home. Her relatives replied and could not believe she did it herself. Patient is immensely pleased with things she is beginning to do for herself. She still has some pain, but she bears it very cheerfully. Miss Gray and John and Joe visit her regularly. She chats with them and they all have a fine time.

#### ADDITIONAL MEDICAL DATA, FEBRUARY 19, 1926

*Operative diagnosis.*—Chronic infectious arthritis, multiple.

*Operation.*—Bilateral application of casts, with knees straight and feet at right angles.

Examination showed left hip flexed without difficulty to 90 degrees. Can adduct the leg about 30 degrees and left knee straight, foot right angles. The fifth toe deformed and would be better if amputated. Left elbow can be brought

to 45 degrees flexion and extended to 160 degrees. Excellent stability. Left wrist and fingers deformed; possibly more could be done by osteotomy. Right elbow has normal motion and good stability; wrist and fingers deformed, but able to feed herself. She can do mat weaving. The shoulder adducted right angles. The right hip flexed 100 degrees. Normal motion, right knee straight and right foot at right angles (Dr. Miller, Orthopedic Surgeon).

*February 21, 1926.*—Following the application of casts, patient is able to be up in a wheel chair. Her general condition is greatly improved. Dr. Miller hopes to have her standing up in a few days.

Miss Gray has left town, but she continued to send patient cards and gifts several times a week. Patient is tired of the hospital food. She asked for sauerkraut and pickles and sausage. Worker talks with the hospital dietitian about giving her these things. They can be given her in small quantities, and worker provides them.

*February 25, 1926.*—Patient stands alone today for the first time. She is very timid, but well pleased with herself. When two people are holding her, her feet can be pushed ahead, but she does not try to do this for herself. Everyone in the ward encourages patient and cheers her on, and she is very happy when she can do a new "stunt."

It seems unlikely that patient's parents will be able to do more about her hospital expenses. Dr. Miller says patient could go home in a short time, but if she could remain two months longer it would be well worth while. Patient is receiving daily physiotherapy, which is invaluable to her. Worker also talks over the case with Mr. Green, of the clinic business office. It is decided the Social Service Department shall guarantee payment of patient's hospital expenses from March 1 to May 1, 1926 so that she may receive the maximum benefit from the treatment she has had. At the same time the clinic decided to cancel the charges for her medical and surgical care. This amounts to \$855.00. No charges will be made for further work.

*March 4, 1926.*—Worker takes patient a hat, dress, and underclothing, so that she can go outdoors on the first pleasant day.

*March 8, 1926.*—Worker finds there is a balance of \$86.16 owing the hospital to March 1.

*Later.*—Letter written to Mr. Baczuk, secretary-treasurer of municipality of Fish Creek:

I am writing to you with regard to Anna Szwydky, who, as you know, has been a patient at the Mayo Clinic since July, 1925. I believe Dr. Miller has written you frequently of the progress Anna is making. We all feel much encouraged about her and think she will be able to walk before long. At the present time

she can stand alone and moves both feet a little. She is feeding herself and writing her letters; she also does a little simple handwork. When the weather moderates we hope to get her out of doors. Everything possible is being done to encourage her and to help her help herself. Dr. Miller thinks by May 1 she should be ready to go home.

Anna tells me she has had a letter from her father in which he mentions a bill from the clinic for \$785. We have taken the matter up with the business office, and it has been decided to cancel all clinic charges for medical and surgical care. To date this amounts to \$855.

You probably know that Anna's father sent \$100 in January to apply on her hospital bill. Nothing more has been received since that time. The balance due to March 1 on the hospital account is \$83.16. After considering carefully all the circumstances of the case, and because we are very anxious that Anna should have every opportunity to make as much headway as possible, the Social Service Department has offered to pay her hospital bill for the months of March and April. In view of what is being done for Anna here, would it not be possible for someone at home, either her parents or the municipality, to pay the hospital balance of \$83.16? We shall be very glad to hear from you after you have talked this over with her people.

We would also like to know what arrangements are to be made for the return trip. It is not likely that Anna will be able to travel alone. Will one of her relatives come for her? I shall hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

*March 13, 1926.*—Patient, Joe, and worker go to see *Peter Pan* at the movies. Patient watched the picture from her wheelchair; it is the first movie she has ever seen. Joe explained the pictures to her. She seems to enjoy the comedy more than the *Peter Pan* film. Patient goes back to the hospital feeling very tired, but happy and quite elated.

Patient is developing some initiative; she frequently asks for things she would like to have or do, and seems to take great satisfaction in doing the same things for herself which other patients in the ward do for themselves. She was seen very shyly looking at herself in the mirror the other day, after she was told she was getting plump and handsome.

*March 17, 1926.*—Patient finished a tray for occupational therapy and started a wicker basket. Joe sends the tray home to her sister, with a letter telling that patient has made it herself.

*March 18, 1926.*—Worker sends someone to take patient outside in the wheelchair. They go downtown to see the sights; patient comes back happy and excited over what she has seen.

#### ADDITIONAL MEDICAL DATA, MARCH 19, 1926

*Operative diagnosis.*—Ankylosis of thumb, left hand. Disarticulation of left fifth toe.



*Operation.*—Osteotomy through base of thumb, left hand, to gain abduction. Disarticulation of fifth toe on left foot for hammer toe. Toe was lying across top of fourth toe (Dr. Miller).

*March 20, 1926.*—Following the operation, patient could not help herself or go outside for a few days.

*March 28, 1926.*—Letter received from Mr. Baczuk, secretary-treasurer of municipality:

I have not been able to get in touch with Anna Szwydky's parents. The roads are bad here at present, but I hope to be able to do so in a few days.

Your letter is wonderful news to us, and let me assure you that Anna's parents and the members of our council fully appreciate the service of your institution, their generosity, your personal interest, and the self-sacrifice of Dr. Miller.

In case Mr. Szwydky does not pay the \$83.16 now owing, I shall bring this matter to the attention of the council at their next meeting on April 3.

There is plenty of time yet for the return arrangements; I presume it will be necessary for someone to go to Rochester.

*April 12, 1926.*—Patient goes outside nearly every day. Sometimes she sits in the sun and other times is wheeled about town. She takes a childlike interest in everything that goes by. She is fascinated by the automobiles. She practically never sees them at home.

Patient was very much pleased to receive \$21 today from her father. He tells her it is for some new clothes. She asks worker to keep it for her until she is ready to go home (patient keeps \$5.00 for incidental expenses).

Letter received from Mr. Baczuk.

I inclose herewith money order for \$83.16, which I received from Mr. Szwydky to be applied on Anna Szwydky's account. The old man with tears of gratitude wishes to thank your institution, Dr. Miller, and the social service people for all they have done in this case.

Letter written to Miss Grace Dickinson, Marsland, Nebraska, a patient who had been in the same ward with Anna:

Anna has asked me to answer your letter, as she does not write English. She is still with us and in the same bed, but is much improved. She can write her own letters now, and is making baskets; although her feet are in casts, still she is able to walk with someone on each side of her to support her.

She is feeling much happier than when you knew her, and is hoping to go home in another month or two. By that time we expect she will be able to walk on crutches. She gets outdoors occasionally in a wheelchair, and one day she went to the movies. Anna was very much pleased to receive your letter, and I am sure she would like to hear from you again.

I am so glad to know you are better and can go without your crutch and cast. With best wishes to you.

*April 15, 1926.*—Letter written to Mr. Baczuk.

I wish to thank you for the check for \$83.16 which we received. We appreciate very much your attention to this matter. I am inclosing a receipt from the hospital.

Anna continues to do well. She gets out-of-doors two or three times a week in her wheelchair, as the weather permits. Although she is still wearing casts on her feet, she walks a little each day.

We will let you know when she will be ready to go home, in plenty of time to make arrangements for her.

*April 20, 1926.*—Worker obtains a pair of orthopedic shoes for patient at cost at Nelson's Shoe Shop. Patient's stiff knee-braces with shoes attached are ready. Brace shop cancels bill of \$65.00 for braces. She is given a pair of crutches from the social service supplies.

Patient has been walking a little each day in the walker. She goes up and down the corridor. Her casts are still on. She was very timid at first and sometimes quite stubborn about refusing to try. It takes a good deal of persuading and cajoling to get her to make the effort. She is very proud of what she can do now, but very loathe to try anything new.

Worker has been talking to her for some time about going home. She wants to go, and yet has been in the hospital so long she dreads the thought of a change and fears she will not be able to get along at home. Worker secures a spring coat for patient. It was dry cleaned, and a flower purchased. Total cost, \$5.69.

*April 30, 1926.*—Colonial Hospital presents bill for March and April, less 20 per cent discount. Bill for \$166.61 paid from social service fund.

After talking with Dr. Miller and the clinic business office, it is decided that social service shall guarantee patient's hospital bill until June 1, 1926. Dr. Miller thinks she needs this longer time to practice walking with braces and crutches before she goes home. There is another orthopedic patient, Ellen McGregor (S.S. No. 1360) who will be returning to Launsdale, Alberta, Canada, this spring. She is an intelligent young woman, twenty-five years old; she is accustomed to traveling, and has known patient since she came to Rochester. Ellen and patient take the same road home; Launsdale is about 100 miles beyond Wakow, Saskatchewan, where patient leaves the train to go to St. Julian. Ellen is short of money, and if she can accompany patient home and have her expenses paid for the assistance she gives, this will save the fare of someone from St. Julian coming to Rochester, and will mean much to Ellen. Patient is heartily in favor of the plan.

## Letter written to Mr. Baczuk:

You will be interested to know that Anna Szwdyky continues to make progress, though of course it is slow. Since we wrote you last she has been supplied with braces, crutches, and shoes. She wears her braces every day and takes a step or two with the help of someone on either side. She has not started to use her crutches. We believe it will take another month to get her to the point where she can go home, therefore the Social Service Department is guaranteeing her hospital bill until June 1.

There is a young lady here, who has been a patient at the clinic for some time, who will be returning home about June 1. She lives near Wakow, and is willing to take Anna home when she goes. Anna has known this girl for some time and would like to go with her. She is perfectly responsible and would be able to manage very well, I think. In this way the expenses of someone from Canada to Rochester could be saved. It is barely possible this girl can use her return-trip ticket, although past due; in that case the expense of her trip back will not be heavy.

Will you talk this matter over with Anna's parents and see if the arrangements meet with their approval? If they wish Anna to go in this way we will send her as soon as she is able. If we have your guarantee of a refund of money expended for transportation for Anna and her attendant, we will advance the money to them, and will try to keep the expenses as low as possible. I shall be glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

*May 1, 1926.*—Patient is using her braces and walking a little farther each day. She cannot use her crutches on account of her thumb, which is not healed. She is outdoors in her wheelchair every day.

Patient asks worker to get some picture postal cards and to help her write them to Miss Gray and other friends who have been so kind to her. Patient has kept every letter and card she received while in the hospital. She looks them over often. Although there is a suit case full, she refuses to part with one.

*May 10, 1926.*—Patient of her own accord arranges with Joe to take her in the wheelchair to buy a new spring hat. They have quite a hilarious time and come back with a tan straw hat trimmed with pink roses which is more gay than becoming. Patient is delighted and cannot bear to have it out of her sight.

*May 11, 1926.*—Letter received from Mr. Baczuk:

I wish to thank you for your letter of April 30. Anna's parents are very much pleased to learn that it will not be necessary to send someone from here. Much trouble and expense could be avoided, as suggested in your letter. We appreciate your interest in this connection.

Please give me the name of the young lady from Wakow. The old folks will send enough money to cover the cost of the trip for two persons if necessary. Please find out how much should be sent, and I shall see that this is done.

*May 15, 1926.*—Patient asks to have the barber come to cut her hair and curl it. She is very particular to have it cut like one of the nurses whom she admires very much. Patient gets a new dress to travel in. Miss Lee (occupational therapy aid who has worked with patient) and worker take her to a store. As the dresses are on the balcony and there is no elevator, she is carried like a queen by four men clerks upstairs in her wheelchair and deposited in a fitting-room. She has quite definite ideas about what she likes and does not like. After trying on several dresses she chooses a light tan crepe de chine with white vest. It is very becoming and looks well with her new hat, though it is not too practical for traveling. She confides this is the most beautiful dress she ever expected to have.

*May 19, 1926.*—Patient very shyly asks worker to ask Dr. Miller for his photograph, as she wishes to show it to her friends at home. Dr. Miller gives her the largest one he has and autographs it. Patient's joy knows no bounds.

Letter written to Mr. Baczuk:

I have been making inquiries regarding the trip home for Anna Szwydky. I believe she will be ready to start by June 1 if she does not have any setbacks.

The young lady whom I mentioned in my last letter is from Launsdale, Alberta, and she expects to go home about the middle of June. She is trying to arrange her affairs so she can take Anna with her, and I hope our plans will work out satisfactorily. This young lady was a patient in Anna's ward at one time, and she has known her for several months. I believe Anna will be quite content to go with her.

I have secured figures of the cost of the trip. One hundred dollars will just about cover the cost of two tickets to Wakow, a lower and upper berth when needed, and their meals. It will be a hard trip for Anna's attendant, and I believe she should have her expenses paid in full. If you will have the one hundred dollars sent to me, I will buy the tickets and make all the arrangements and will notify you when they will arrive.

Do you have a nurse doing public health work in your district? If there is someone who could visit Anna at her home occasionally and teach her sister about massage and exercises, it would help Anna considerably. We would send the directions from here.

*May 29, 1926.*—Letter written to Mr. Baczuk:

I am writing you further in regard to Anna Szwydky.

We are planning to have Anna leave here June 6. She will arrive in Young, Saskatchewan, at 10:55 A.M., June 8, and can leave there for Wakow at 12:25

p.m. the same day. Would it not be possible for her brother or someone else to meet her at Young and take her the rest of the way home, so her attendant from here could continue her journey without the expense of the trip to Wakow?

I presume I shall hear from you shortly in reply to my letter of May 19. We are planning to have Anna's attendant sleep in the lower berth with her, so this will lessen the expenses somewhat.

Anna is now walking alone with her crutches. She will need lots of encouragement when she gets home to keep up her interest in trying to do better. We took her out and got her a new dress to travel in. Dr. Miller feels very proud of the progress she has made, and he is planning to have a moving picture taken, showing how she can use her hands and feet.

*June 1, 1926.*—Dr. Miller wishes to have a moving picture made showing patient's activities. She is dressed in all her new clothes, and Dr. Miller and worker take her to the clinic photographic section. A movie is made while she walks back and forth on her crutches; she feeds herself, writes, and works on a wicker basket. She also lies on a table and rotates each leg. Patient is very loathe to have these performances come to an end. Her keenest disappointment was that she went home before the pictures were developed, and she never saw her own movie.

*June 2, 1926.*—Night letter sent Mr. Baczuk:

Everything is ready to send Anna Szwydky from here on Sunday. Can someone meet her at Young Tuesday morning 10:55 so attendant will not have to make trip to Wakow. Please wire if these arrangements can be made.

*June 3, 1926.*—Letter dated May 27 from Mr. Baczuk:

I inclose herewith money order for \$100, less 50 cents exchange, in the name of Anna Szwydky to cover her and her ward's expenses from Rochester to either Wakow or Rosthern, Sask. Both these stations are equally handy to us and they can take whichever is more direct.

There is a Presbyterian Mission Hospital at Wakow, with Dr. R. G. Jones in charge. He might be able to visit Anna occasionally, as suggested in your letter. Again let me thank you for all your letters, your care, and your interest on behalf of this patient.

Letter written to United States Inspector of Immigration Service at Winnipeg:

This is to inform you that Anna Szwydky, of St. Julian, Saskatchewan, Canada, is returning to Canada in a few days. She will probably be in Winnipeg June 7. She is not able to get about by herself and is going home with an attendant. If they are unable to see you regarding the bond of \$500 which she deposited when she came to the United States in July, 1925, could this be sent her at her home?

Patient has written to Father Sikorski, who helped her before at Winnipeg. She has asked him to meet her at the train.

*June 4, 1926.*—Telegram received from Mr. Baczuk:

Anna Szwydky will be met at Young on Tuesday morning.

Letter written to Traveler's Aid, St. Paul:

Anna Szwydky and an attendant will arrive in St. Paul on the 10:55 A.M. Great Western train Sunday, June 6. It will be necessary for this patient to have a stretcher at the train to meet her. She will be on the parlor car. While she is not ill, she is quite helpless from arthritis. Her legs do not bend at the knees, so I believe it will be easier to handle her on a stretcher than a wheelchair.

They will be in the station until 5:05 P.M., when they take the train to Winnipeg. I hope it will be possible for Anna to lie down during the day. She has been a patient here for eleven months, and in bed most of the time, so she is not able to stand a great deal. I am asking the Traveler's Aid to meet them in Winnipeg.

We appreciate very much all the assistance which you give us with patients passing through your city.

Dr. Miller tells patient if she returns in two years he thinks he can make a ballet dancer of her. She is much pleased and tells worker "Dr. Miller wants make me dancer."

*June 5, 1926.*—Patient asks to have her hair marcelled before she starts home. Joe takes her around in a wheelchair to say goodbye to various friends. She superintends her packing and insists that every postal card be included.

Telegram sent to Traveler's Aid, Winnipeg:

Please meet with stretcher Anna Szwydky in lower 7 car 169 Great Northern arriving there Monday morning June 7.

*June 6, 1926.*—Patient leaves with Ellen on the early morning train. She is accompanied to the station by Joe and John and worker; she is presented with boxes of candy and is last seen sitting in great state on the couch of the parlor car.

*June 7, 1926.*—Colonial Hospital bill for \$89.01, for care from May 1 to June 6, paid from social service fund.

*June 8, 1926.*—Letter received from Traveler's Aid, St. Paul:

re Anna Szwydky

We have received your letter of June 5, and met and assisted the above-named traveler. We placed her en route on train Great Northern to Winnipeg. She was made comfortable in emergency room.

*June 9, 1926.*—Letter written by Dr. Miller to Dr. Erdman Tenner, of Rosthern, patient's local doctor:

No doubt by this time you have seen Miss Anna Szwydky, who left here last Sunday, June 6. I believe that with a daily massage she will continue to improve a great deal more than she has up to the present time. The knees must be kept straight, and she should be encouraged to move her muscles in both extremities in a systematic manner so as to build up some strength, which, of course, has been lacking these many years. One of the most important things in improving her condition is to give her plenty of encouragement. She is able now to write, to feed herself, and to do mat-making and basket-weaving. If something of this sort can be kept up, the function of the fingers will continue to improve. We were very fortunate in obtaining good function in the hips, but unless the knees are kept stiff, she will have great difficulty in walking. I therefore have applied stiff knee-braces.

I would appreciate hearing from you from time to time regarding Miss Szwydky's condition, and if we can co-operate with you at any time in her care, be sure to call on us.

There is no public health nurse in that community who can be asked to call on patient.

*June 13, 1926.*—Letter received from Ellen from Wainright, Alberta:

DEAR MISS TENNANT: Just to let you know that Anna got home safely. Her brother was at the station to meet her. We got on fine at St. Paul. She got a bed in the hospital, for which I paid 50 cents.

On arriving in Winnipeg there was no place where Anna could lie. The priest was there to meet her. He advised me to take Anna to a hotel. Everyone was so good to us. My friend in Winnipeg stayed with us in the evening, and Anna walked up and down the length of the hall. I arrived home in an awful wind storm. My folks were all glad to see me. It's going to be awful quiet out on the farm, and there doesn't seem to be any work in town. There isn't any news to give you just yet, but will write again.

Sincerely yours, ELLEN MCGREGOR

*June 14, 1926.*—Letter received from patient:

DEAR MADAM: I wish to let you know that I have arrived home safely and am feeling fine now. Ellen who took care of me during my journey was very kind, and did all she could to comfort me. I would be very thankful to you Miss Tennant if you will write the proper authorities at Winnipeg and ask them to send us our bond which we gave in order to cross the boundary line. Thanking you in anticipation for your favor, I remain

Yours respectfully, ANNA SZWYDKY



*June 17, 1926.*—Letter written to patient:

MY DEAR ANNA: I was very much pleased to receive your letter and to know that you reached home safely. Ellen has also written me. I am sure everyone is greatly pleased to have you back. I hope you are keeping up your walking and the use of your hands, you know Dr. Miller thought this was most important for you. You know you must try to walk a little more each day, and before you know it you will be able to walk as well as anyone else.

It seems very lonely in the ward without you. I do not have any patients down there now, although I am expecting Frieda back soon. Joe and John and all the nurses have inquired for you and I told them you reached home safely.

We have been having a good deal of rain lately and the weather has not been so pleasant as when you went away. Sunday there was to have been a big celebration with about ten bands in town, but it rained so they could not have their concert.

I almost forgot to tell you that Miss Gray returned to Rochester the day after you left. She was sorry not to have seen you, but so pleased that you were able to go home. We told her all about your walking, and your moving picture too.

I wrote some time ago to the Commissioner of Immigration about refunding your bond, but am writing him again today. In case you do not hear from him soon, have someone write to: L. L. Martineau, U. S. Department of Labor, Immigration Service, Winnipeg, Man.

With best wishes to you and hoping to hear from you often, I am  
Very truly yours,

MEDICAL SOCIAL SERVICE

Letter written to United States Inspector of Immigration Service, Winnipeg:

This is to inform you that Anna Szwydky, of St. Julian, Saskatchewan, left Rochester June 6 and has returned home.

When she entered the United States in July, 1925, she gave a \$500 bond. She has asked me to write you in regard to having this returned to her. Will you kindly correspond directly with her at her home?

Letter written to Mrs. Kindrachuk, Wakow, Saskatchewan:

I know you are all very glad to have Anna back after her long stay in Rochester. While her condition is much better than before her operations, it is possible for her to improve a great deal more. She can only accomplish this by trying to do a little more each day. She should be encouraged to walk short distances several times a day, and a little farther each day. She can learn to do many things around the house, such as fixing vegetables, sweeping, dusting, etc. Anything she can do with her hands will help her.

Anna knows about the massage and the exercises she did in the hospital. She should keep these up at home. I think she can show you or your daughter

how this is done, and you can do it for her. She should have massage of the joints every day to keep them from getting stiff again. This is very important. Anna will need lots of encouragement, and when she does not want to try to do all she can, you must try to persuade her and tell her how well she has been doing and how much she has improved.

We shall be glad to hear from you any time we can be of any help.

Many letters have passed back and forth from patient to Dr. Miller and from patient to worker. She has made steady improvement. In September she wrote of walking a quarter of a mile across the fields. She helps her mother at home and apparently is busy and happy.

A local Ukrainian newspaper had an article about patient and her "cure." This brought many visitors from the surrounding country to see her. It probably encouraged her to do her best and to attempt new things. Several of patient's neighbors who have been patients at the Mayo Clinic have stopped to see worker and have told of her progress. Apparently she is quite the center of attraction in that municipality.

*December 31, 1926.*—Case closed—Incomplete, as there is no local agency to which patient can be referred for follow-up care.

#### SUMMARY

Anna Szwydky came to the Mayo Clinic from her home in a rural community of Western Canada. She had been totally helpless and bed-ridden for five years as the result of chronic infectious arthritis.

Anna was born in Ukraina and went to Canada with her parents twenty-five years ago. She was thirty years old when she came to Rochester, and could not speak or understand English. Her parents were poor, but willing to sacrifice everything if her health could be restored. She was accompanied to Rochester by a neighbor. They travelled 1,000 miles, with Anna on a cot in the baggage car.

Worker first saw Anna in the hospital the day she was to have an operation on her right elbow. The doctors felt if they could give her the use of her arm this would be all they could accomplish. After this operation she should be able to feed herself and write, and then would be allowed to return home to spend the rest of her life in bed.

She was alone, with no one to tell her what the doctors and nurses were talking about. She was terrified of what they might do to her. She wept constantly and begged with her eyes to be left alone.

Through the years she had been an invalid she had lost all initiative and interest in life. She did not expect ever to be able to help herself, and

had lost all desire to become a normal person. She was like a helpless animal.

The first four months in the hospital were full of suffering and anguish. The operation on her elbow was so successful that the doctors decided to reconstruct the left elbow and right hip, with the expectation that she would learn to walk and to use both arms. During this time little could be done for Anna except to interest two men who spoke her language and to see that they interpreted to her what the doctors were trying to do. They reassured her and kept worker posted about her ideas and wishes and fears. The latter were allayed as much as possible through the interpreters. Her parents were kept informed of her progress through the excellent co-operation given by the Secretary-Treasurer of the municipality. He was the only one in that community who even resembled a social agency.

Throughout the treatment of this patient, worker had the close co-operation of the doctors, nurses, occupational and physiotherapists, patients who acted as friendly visitors, and the local municipal officials. After months of discouraging efforts to arouse her interest, she slowly began to respond. When the major operations were over and she began to see that she might sometime be able to do the things other people did, her ambition and initiative were aroused. She learned to feed herself, to write, to make baskets, to wiggle her toes, and finally to walk. She was very timid about trying each new movement, and it took infinite patience on the part of everyone to persuade her.

She learned to understand and to speak a little English; she acquired a curiosity about her surroundings and an interest in her personal appearance. Worker felt the peak of sophistication had been reached when she asked to have her hair marcelled the day before she took the train home.

Anna was in the hospital ten months. Her family were only able to pay the hospital expenses for three months. When they could not pay any longer, the municipal council assumed the hospital bill for as long as they could. In order to give her the maximum benefit from her treatment, the social service paid her expenses for the last three months. The clinic gave free medical and surgical care and furnished braces.

When Anna went home she was walking on crutches; in the six months following her discharge from the clinic she has tried to follow out the directions given her and has showed steady improvement. While she can never become self-supporting, she has been saved from being a helpless invalid who might have been a burden on her relatives for many years to come.

## FACTS RECORDED ON FINANCIAL SHEET

[The sum of \$491.88 was expended for this patient. The items for which expenditures were made were: incidentals, \$4.00; Canadian Security Company bond, \$5.00; patient's head tax to U.S. Immigration Service, \$8.00; to hospital, \$341.72; for clothes, petty cash, etc., \$33.66; transportation (for patient and companion), \$99.50. Of this, \$285.28 came from the social service fund; the rest either from the patient or from the officers of the municipality in Canada.]

GERTRUDE TENNANT

MAYO CLINIC  
ROCHESTER, MINNESOTA

## STEPHEN GIRARD, 1750-1831

### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE GIRARD College for Orphans, which was chartered by the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania nearly eighty years ago, was the greatest single charitable trust established by an American citizen in the first half of the nineteenth century. The founder, Stephen Girard,<sup>1</sup> who planned to make his riches "do his generous will forever," was a French immigrant who came to this country on the eve of the Revolutionary War. He had sailed for the French port of San Domingo as a master of a merchant ship. His cargo, however, was sold at a loss, and, fearing imprisonment for debt if he returned to his native country,<sup>2</sup> he secured a discharge from the ship, and went, not to France, but to New York, where he secured employment by which he hoped to pay off his French creditors. Two years later, in 1776, he became a resident of Philadelphia, where he took the oath of allegiance in 1778, and in 1779 took the subsequent oath prescribed for anyone who wished to become a "free citizen of the state."

The historian John Bach McMaster has prepared a substantial biography of Stephen Girard's life as mariner, merchant, and banker, based on a study of the rare collection of Girard manuscripts. In this biography, the historian shows Girard as a "bold and adventurous trader taking great risks, suffering heavy losses, reaping rich

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of Stephen Girard's life and work, the following may be consulted: Stephen Simpson, *Biography of Stephen Girard* (Philadelphia, 1832); Henry W. Arey, *The Girard College and Its Founder* (Philadelphia, 1853); Henry Atlee Ingram, *Illustrated Girard College, to Which Is Added a Short Biography of Stephen Girard* (Philadelphia, 1892); Cheesman A. Herrick, *Stephen Girard, Founder* (Philadelphia: Girard College, 1923); John Bach McMaster, *The Life and Times of Stephen Girard, Mariner and Merchant* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1918); J. Parton, "Girard College and Its Founder," *North American Review*, C (1865), pp. 70-101; Neva A. Deardorff, "The New Pied Pipers: Girard College, Sacrosanct Legacy of the Financier of the War of 1812," *Survey*, LII (1924), 31-33.

<sup>2</sup> See John Bach McMaster, *The Life and Times of Stephen Girard, Mariner and Merchant* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1918), I, 4.

profits." He also became, early in the nineteenth century, the most important private banker in the United States, and during the War of 1812 he "enabled the government to float a loan of \$16,000,000, for which the people of the entire country had not subscribed 50 per cent. When the second Bank of the United States was chartered and the stock did not sell, it was his subscription of \$3,000,000 that made it possible for the directors to complete the organization of the Bank and begin business."<sup>1</sup> But Girard's reputation as "mariner, merchant, and banker" and his public services as financier to his adopted country have long since been forgotten, and it is the dedication of his vast wealth to charitable uses that has made his name a household word for nearly three generations.

Girard, however, gave his personal services as well as his fortune to his fellow-citizens. The documents that follow contain a contemporary account of his work for the poor during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. Again in the later epidemics of 1797 and 1798, 1802, and 1820 he was a conspicuous public servant. He served for several terms as a member of the city council of Philadelphia, and he served also as one of the wardens of the port. He was a supporter of most of the public charities of Philadelphia during his life, including the Pennsylvania Hospital, the Society for the Relief of Distressed Masters of Ships and their Widows, the public schools, the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, the Orphan Society, the *Société de Bienfaisance Française*, and the Fuel-Saving Society.

He apparently had had the "College for Orphans" or some similar bequest long under consideration. It is interesting that some French letters written as early as 1810 which were found among his papers contained suggestions looking toward some such foundation. With one of these letters was sent a copy of the Testament of Fortuné Ricard, whose benevolent bequests the writer earnestly called to the attention of Stephen Girard. An appeal was apparently made to Girard.

to induce him to transfer his great wealth to his native land. For this purpose they endeavor to appeal to the feeling, which is supposed never to be extinguished, of attachment to the fatherland, and give a glowing picture of France, her arts and arms. They refer to the distracted condition of this country, on the

<sup>1</sup> McMaster, I, vii-viii.

probable eve of a war with the most powerful nation of Europe, in which the United States "must" be subjugated, and assure him that in the anarchy following conquest, his fortune will be scattered and lost. They remind him that in Europe wealth gives rank and distinction, while here the man of silver is not respected, but only valued. Appealing to his well-known love for agricultural pursuits, they draw a striking picture of this "guide and patron of all French merchants" located in the fertile and beautiful fields of Languedoc, the owner of thousands of broad acres, of beautiful vineyards and splendid herds; and finally describe him as dying, after founding a magnificent institution of benevolence in Paris—his name descending to posterity, blessed by the poor and homeless. And they conclude with this striking expression, that he must remember that "benevolence is the only treasure which the rich man can take with him to the grave."<sup>1</sup>

In spite of appeals to return to his native land, Girard remained a devoted citizen of the United States, and he apparently made up his mind at a relatively early date to dedicate his great fortune to some charitable use in his adopted country.

In his private library were found pamphlets on poor relief, the almshouse "rules," the "special rules for the Committee on the Children's Asylum"; and a copy of the act incorporating the "Society for the Relief of the Poor, Aged, and Infirm Masters of Ships, their Widows and Children." An early interest in the care of orphan children may have been one of the results of his work at the Bush-Hill pesthouse during the first yellow fever epidemic. The report of the citizen's committee, of which he was a member, showed that 192 orphan children had been under the care of the committee during this period.

A considerable portion of the Girard will is reprinted in the following pages as indicating the range of his generous bequests. At the time of his death he had been for many years a childless widower, and of his great estate, which was valued at \$7,000,000, he left only \$140,000 to his various relatives. The residuary estate, which went to his great foundation, the "college for poor white male orphans," was originally valued at \$6,000,000, but the real estate has increased so enormously in value in the period of ninety-six years since his death that the college endowment today is reported to be approximately \$73,000,000. The Foundation was established at a time when, owing to the high mortality rates and frequent epidemics,

<sup>1</sup> Henry W. Arey (secretary of the Girard College), *The Girard College and Its Founder* (Philadelphia, 1853), pp. 22-23.



there were proportionately a large number of orphans, and when the state of Pennsylvania made no provision for the education of its future citizens except *in forma pauperis*. The only free schools for the children of Pennsylvania were the charity schools, and free education was available only to those people who were willing to place a mark of pauperism on their children.<sup>1</sup> Whether if Girard were living today he would make the same disposition of his great fortune no one can say, but any study of Girard's beneficent bequest must give rise to discussions of the larger subject of endowments in their relation to the changing needs of those to whose service they are dedicated.

The attack made upon Girard after his death by those who sought to break the will and who charged him with being irreligious was answered by his long-time friend and attorney in his argument supporting Girard before the United States Supreme Court in the hearing of the case:

We have nothing to do with Mr. Girard's religious opinions. If any one thinks he can lead a better life, with equal humility and more zeal, let him try. Instead of there being anything against religion in the will, there is a manly and unaffected testimony in its favor. The boys are directed to "adopt such religious tenets as mature reason may prefer"; any tenet, without exception. The will then holds religion to be inseparable from human character, but thinks the best way of forming that portion of the character is by attending to it at mature age. It is a speculative question. Can it be said that Girard had no respect for religion? He showed a religious heart by bestowing upon the poor what God had given him, so that, like Franklin's legacy, "it might go round." His desire was that the children should be educated in the manner which he thought the best, to make them religious. Who is to decide whether it is the best way or not? The objection assumes that the Bible is not to be taught at all, or that laymen are incapable of teaching it. There is not the least evidence of an intention to prohibit it from being taught. On the contrary, there is an obligation to teach what the Bible alone can teach, viz., a pure system of morality.<sup>2</sup>

What his fellow-citizens thought of Stephen Girard is shown by the following extract from the resolutions adopted by the councils of Philadelphia at the time of his death:

Contemplating the humility of his origin, and contrasting therewith the variety and extent of his works and wealth, the mind is filled with admiration of

<sup>1</sup> See Cheesman A. Herrick, *Stephen Girard, Founder*, pp. 138-41.

<sup>2</sup> From the argument of Horace Binney, 2 Howard U.S., 170.

the man, and profoundly impressed with the value of his example. Numerous and solid as are the edifices which he constructed in the city and vicinity of Philadelphia, they will contribute but a transitory record of what he was when compared with the moral influence that must arise from a knowledge of the merits, and means, by which he acquired his immense estate. These merits and means were probity of the strictest kind, diligence unsurpassed, perseverance in all pursuits, and a frugality as remote from parsimony as from extravagance. The goodness of his heart was not manifested by ostentatious subscription or loud profession; but when pestilence stalked abroad, he risked his life to preserve from its ravages the most humble of his fellow-citizens, and wherever sorrow, unaccompanied by immorality, appeared at his door, it was thrown wide open. His person, his home, and his habits evinced the love of what was simple, and he was a devoted friend to those principles of civil and religious liberty which are the basis of the political fabric of his adopted country.<sup>1</sup>

#### Stephen Girard and the Yellow Fever Epidemic<sup>2</sup>

It was some time before the disorder attracted public notice. It had in the meanwhile swept off many persons. . . . The removals from Philadelphia began about the 25th or 26th of August; and so great was the general terror, that, for some weeks, carts, wagons, coaches, gigs, and chairs were almost constantly transporting families and furniture to the country in every direction. Many people shut up their houses wholly; others left servants to take care of them. Business became extremely dull, . . . and the streets wore the appearance of gloom and melancholy. . . .

The 26th of the same month [August], the college of physicians had a meeting, at which they took into consideration the nature of the disorder, and the means of prevention and cure. They published an address to the citizens, signed by the president and secretary, recommending to avoid all unnecessary intercourse with the infected; to place marks on the doors or windows where they were; to pay great attention to cleanliness and airing the rooms of the sick; to provide a large and airy hospital in the neighborhood of the city for their reception; to put a stop to the tolling of the bells; to convey to the burying ground those who died of the disorder, in carriages and as privately as possible; to keep the streets and wharves clean; to avoid all fatigue of body and mind, and standing or sitting in the sun, or in the open air; to accommodate the dress to the weather, and to exceed rather in warm than in cool clothing; and to avoid intemperance; but to

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Arey, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Extract from Mathew Carey, *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever Which Prevalled in Philadelphia, in the Year 1793*. 5th ed., improved. (Philadelphia, 1830), pp. 19-43. (This book was first published November 14, 1793.)

use fermented liquors, such as wine, beer and cider, with moderation. They likewise declared their opinion that fires in the streets were a very dangerous, if not ineffectual means of stopping the progress of the fever, and that they placed more dependence on the burning of gunpowder. The benefits of vinegar and camphor, they added, were confined chiefly to infected rooms; and they could not be too often used on handkerchiefs, or in smelling bottles, by persons who attended the sick.

In consequence of this address, the bells were immediately stopped from tolling. The expedience of this measure was obvious; as they had before been almost constantly ringing the whole day, so as to terrify those in health, and drive the sick, as far as the influence of imagination could produce that effect, to their graves. An idea had gone abroad that the burning of fires in the streets would have a tendency to purify the air, and arrest the progress of the disorder. The people had, therefore, almost every night, large fires lighted at the corners of the streets. The 29th, the Mayor, conformably with the opinion of the college of physicians, published a proclamation forbidding this practice. As a substitute, many had recourse to the firing of guns, which they imagined was a certain preventive of the disorder. This was carried so far, and attended with such danger, that it was forbidden by an ordinance of the Mayor.

The number of the infected daily increasing, and the existence of an order against the admission of persons labouring under infectious diseases into the Alms House precluding them from a refuge there,<sup>1</sup> some temporary place was requisite, and three of the guardians of the poor, about the 26th of August, took possession of the circus, in which Mr. Ricketts had lately exhibited his equestrian feats, being the only place that could be then procured for the purpose. Thither they sent seven persons afflicted with the malignant fever, where they lay in the open air for some time, and without any assistance.<sup>2</sup> Of these, one crawled out on the commons, where he died at a distance from the houses. Two died in the circus. . . .

The inhabitants of the neighborhood of the circus took the alarm, and threatened to burn or destroy it, unless the sick were removed; and it is believed they would have actually carried their threats into execution, had compliance been delayed a day longer.

<sup>1</sup> At this period, the number of paupers in the Alms House was between three and four hundred; and the managers, apprehensive of spreading the disorder among them, enforced the above mentioned order, which had been entered into a long time before. They, however, supplied beds and bedding, and all the money in their treasury, for their relief, out of that house.

<sup>2</sup> High wages were offered for nurses for these poor people, but none could be procured.

On the 29th, seven of the guardians of the poor had a conference with some of the city magistrates on the subject of the fever, at which it was agreed to be indispensably necessary that a suitable house, as an hospital, should be provided near the city, for the reception of the infected poor.

In consequence, in the evening of the same day, the guardians of the poor agreed to sundry resolutions, viz., to use their utmost exertions to procure a house of the above description for a hospital (out of town, and as near thereto, as might be practicable, consistently with the safety of the inhabitants) for the poor who were or might be afflicted with contagious disorders, and be destitute of the means of providing necessary assistance otherwise; to engage physicians, nurses, attendants, and all necessaries for their relief in that house; to appoint proper persons in each district, to inquire after such poor as might be afflicted; to administer assistance to them in their own houses, and if necessary, to remove them to the hospital. They reserved to themselves at the same time the liberty of drawing on the Mayor for such sums as might be necessary to carry their resolves into effect.

Conformably with these resolves, a committee of the guardians was appointed to make inquiry for a suitable place; and after strict examination, they judged that a mansion house adjacent to Bushhill . . . was the best calculated for the purpose. . . . And the great urgency of the case admitting no delay, eight of the guardians, accompanied by one of the city aldermen, with the concurrence of the governor, . . . took possession of the mansion house itself, to which, on the same evening, the 31st of August, they sent the four patients who remained at the circus.

Shortly after this, the guardians of the poor for the city, except three, ceased the performance of their duties, nearly the whole of them having removed out of the city. Before this virtual vacation of office, they passed a resolve against the admission of any paupers whatever into the Alms House during the prevalence of the disorder. The whole care of the poor of the city, the providing for Bushhill, sending the sick there, and burying the dead, devolved, therefore, on the above three guardians. . . .

The consternation of the people of Philadelphia at this period was carried beyond all bounds. Dismay and affright were visible in almost every person's countenance. Most of those who could, by any means, make it convenient, fled from the city. Of those who remained, many shut themselves up in their houses, being afraid to walk the streets. The smoke of tobacco being regarded as a preventive, many persons, even women and small boys, had segars almost constantly in their mouths. Others, placing full confidence in garlic, chewed it almost the whole day; some kept it in

their pockets and shoes. Many were afraid to allow the barbers or hairdressers to come near them, as instances had occurred of some of them having shaved the dead, and many having engaged as bleeders. Some, who carried their caution pretty far, bought lancets for themselves, not daring to allow themselves to be bled with the lancets of the bleeders. Many houses were scarcely a moment in the day, free from the smell of gunpowder, burned tobacco, nitre, sprinkled vinegar, etc. Some of the churches were almost deserted, and others wholly closed. The coffee-house was shut up, as was the city library, and most of the public offices—three, out of the four, daily papers were discontinued, as were some of the others. Many devoted no small portion of their time to purifying, scouring, and whitewashing their rooms. Those who ventured abroad, had handkerchiefs or sponges, impregnated with vinegar or camphor, at their noses, or smelling-bottles full of thieves' vinegar. Others carried pieces of tarred rope in their hands or pockets, or camphor bags tied round their necks. The corpses of the most respectable citizens, even of those who had not died of the epidemic, were carried to the grave on the shafts of a chair, the horse driven by a negro, unattended by a friend or relation, and without any sort of ceremony. People uniformly and hastily shifted their course at the sight of a hearse coming towards them. Many never walked on the footpath, but went into the middle of the streets, to avoid being infected in passing houses wherein people had died. Acquaintances and friends avoided each other in the streets and only signified their regard by a cold nod. The old custom of shaking hands fell into such general disuse, that many shrunk back with affright at even the offer of the hand. A person with a crape, or any appearance of mourning, was shunned like a viper. And many valued themselves highly on the skill and address with which they got to windward of every person whom they met. Indeed it is not probable that London, at the last stage of the plague, exhibited stronger marks of terror than were to be seen in Philadelphia, from the 25th or 26th of August till late in September. When the citizens summoned resolution to walk abroad, and take the air, the sick cart conveying patients to the hospital, or the hearse carrying the dead to the grave, which were travelling almost the whole day, soon damped their spirits, and plunged them again into despondency. . . . Men of affluent fortunes, who have given daily employment and sustenance to hundreds, have been abandoned to the care of a negro, after their wives, children, friends, clerks, and servants, had fled away, and left them to their fate. In some cases, at the commencement of the disorder, no money could procure proper attendance. With the poor, the case was, as might be expected, infinitely worse

than with the rich. Many of these have perished, without a human being to hand them a drink of water, to administer medicines, or to perform any charitable office for them. Various instances have occurred of dead bodies found lying in the streets, of persons who had no house or habitation, and could procure no shelter. . . .<sup>1</sup>

A servant girl, belonging to a family in this city, in which the fever had prevailed, was apprehensive of danger, and resolved to remove to a relation's house, in the country. She was, however, taken sick on the road, and returned to town, where she could find no person to receive her. One of the guardians of the poor provided a cart, and took her to the Alms House, into which she was refused admittance. She was brought back, but the guardian could not procure her a single night's lodging. And, in fine, after every effort made to provide her shelter, she absolutely expired in the cart. This occurrence took place before Bushhill hospital was opened.

. . . .

In the meantime, the situation of affairs became daily more and more serious. Those of the guardians of the poor, who continued to act, were quite oppressed with the labors of their office, which increased to such a degree, that they were utterly unable to execute them. I have already mentioned, that for the city there were but three who persevered in the performance of their duty. . . . The mortality increased daily. Owing to the general terror, nurses, carters, and attendants could not be procured but with difficulty. Thus circumstanced, the Mayor of the city, on the 10th of September, published an address to the citizens, announcing that the guardians of the poor, who remained, were in distress for want of assistance, and inviting such benevolent people, as felt for the general distress, to lend their aid. In consequence of this advertisement, a meeting of the citizens was held at the City-Hall, on Thursday, the 12th of September, at which very few attended, from the universal consternation that prevailed. The state of the poor was fully considered; and ten citizens, Israel Israel, Samuel Wetherill, Thomas Wistar, Andrew Adgate, Caleb Lownes, Henry Deforest, Thomas Peters, Joseph Inskeep, Stephen Girard, and John Mason, offered themselves to assist the guardians of the poor. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to confer with the physicians who had the care of Bushhill, and make report of the state of that hospital. This committee reported next evening, that it was in very bad order, and in want of almost everything.

On Saturday, the 14th, another meeting was held, when the alarming

<sup>1</sup> The novel of *Arthur Mervyn*, by C. B. Brown, gives a vivid and terrifying picture, probably not too highly colored, of the horrors of that period.



state of affairs being fully considered, it was resolved to borrow fifteen hundred dollars of the Bank of North America, for the purpose of procuring suitable accommodations for the use of persons afflicted with the prevailing malignant fever. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to transact the whole of the business relative to the relief of the sick, and the procuring of physicians, nurses, attendants, etc. This is the committee, which, by virtue of that appointment, has, from that day to the present time, watched over the sick, the poor, the widow, and the orphan. . . .

At the meeting on Sunday, September 15th, a circumstance occurred, to which the most glowing pencil could hardly do justice. Stephen Girard, a wealthy merchant, a native of France, and one of the members of the committee, sympathising with the wretched situation of the sufferers at Bushhill, voluntarily and unexpectedly offered himself as a manager to superintend that hospital. The surprise and satisfaction excited by this extraordinary effort of humanity can be better conceived than expressed. Peter Helm, a native of Pennsylvania, also a member, actuated by the like benevolent motives, offered his services in the same department. Their offers were accepted; and the same afternoon they entered on the execution of their dangerous and praiseworthy office.

To form a just estimate of the value of the offer of these citizens, it is necessary to take into consideration the general consternation which at that period pervaded every quarter of the city, and which caused attendance on the sick to be regarded as little less than a certain sacrifice. Uninfluenced by any reflections of this kind, without any possible inducement but the purest motives of humanity, they magnanimously offered themselves as the forlorn hope of the committee. I trust that the gratitude of their fellow citizens will be as enduring as the memory of their beneficent conduct, which I hope will not die with the present generation.

On the 16th, the managers of Bushhill, after personal inspection of the state of affairs there, made a report of its situation which was truly deplorable. It exhibited as wretched a picture of human misery as ever existed. A profligate, abandoned set of nurses and attendants (hardly any of good character could at that time be procured) rioted on the provisions and comforts prepared for the sick, who (unless at the hours when the doctors attended) were left almost entirely destitute of every assistance. The sick, the dying, the dead, were indiscriminately mingled together. The ordure, and other evacuations of the sick, were allowed to remain in the most offensive state imaginable. Not the smallest appearance of order or regularity existed. It was, in fact, a great human slaughter-house, where numerous victims were immolated at the altar of riot and intemperance. No



wonder, then, that a general dread of the place prevailed through the city, and that a removal to it was considered as the seal of death. In consequence, there were various instances of sick persons locking their rooms, and resisting every attempt to carry them away. At length, the poor were so much afraid of being sent to Bushhill, that they would not acknowledge their illness, until it was no longer possible to conceal it. For it is to be observed, that the fear of the contagion was so prevalent, that as soon as any one was taken ill, of any disorder whatever, an alarm was spread among the neighbors, and every effort was used to have the sick person hurried off to Bushhill, to avoid spreading the disorder. The cases of poor people forced in this way to that hospital, though labouring under only common colds, and common fall fevers, were numerous and afflicting. There were not wanting instances of persons, only slightly ill, being sent to Bushhill by their panic-struck neighbors, and embracing the first opportunity of returning to Philadelphia. . . .

The order and regularity introduced, and the care and tenderness with which the patients were treated soon removed the prejudices against the hospital; and in the course of a week or two, numbers of sick people, who had not at home proper persons to nurse them, applied to be sent to Bushhill. Indeed, in the end, so many people who were afflicted with other disorders procured admittance there, that it became necessary to pass a resolve, that before an order of admission should be granted, a certificate must be produced from a physician, that the patient laboured under the malignant fever; for, had all the applicants been received, this hospital, provided for an extraordinary occasion, would have been filled with patients whose cases fell within the cognizance of the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

The number of persons received into Bushhill, from the 16th of September to this time, November 30, is about one thousand; of whom nearly five hundred are dead; there are now in the house, about twenty sick, and fifty convalescents. Of the latter class, there have been dismissed about four hundred and thirty.

The reason why so large a proportion died, of those received, is that, in a variety of cases, the early fears of that hospital had obtained such firm possession of the minds of some, and others were so much actuated by foolish pride, that they would not consent to be removed till they were past recovery. And in consequence of this, there were several instances of persons dying in the cart on the road to the hospital. Were it not for the operation of these two motives, the number of the dead in the city and in the hospital would have been much lessened; for many a man whose nice

feelings made him spurn the idea of a removal to the hospital, perished in the city for want of that comfortable assistance he would have had at Bushhill. I speak within bounds when I say, that at least a third of the whole number of those received, did not survive their entrance into the hospital two days; and of those that died in the hospital, many would have been rescued had they been taken there in proper season.

Before I conclude this chapter, let me add, that the perseverance of the managers of that hospital has been equally meritorious with their original magnanimous beneficence. During the whole calamity to this time, they have attended uninterruptedly, for six, seven, or eight hours a day, renouncing almost every care of private affairs. They have had a laborious tour of duty to perform. Stephen Girard, whose office was in the interior part of the hospital, has had to encourage and comfort the sick—to hand them necessaries and medicines—to wipe the sweat off their brows—and to perform many disgusting offices of kindness for them, which nothing could render tolerable, but the exalted motives that impelled him to this heroic conduct.

#### **The Will of Stephen Girard<sup>1</sup>**

I, Stephen Girard, of the city of Philadelphia, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Mariner and Merchant, being of sound mind, memory, and understanding, do make and publish this my last Will and Testament, in manner following: that is to say—

I. I give and bequeath unto "The Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital," of which Corporation I am a member, the sum of *Thirty Thousand Dollars*, upon the following conditions, namely, that the said sum shall be added to their Capital, and shall remain a part thereof forever, to be placed at interest, and the interest thereof to be applied *in the first place*, to pay to my black woman Hannah (to whom I hereby give her freedom) the sum of two hundred dollars per year, in quarterly payments of fifty dollars each, in advance, during all the term of her life; and, *in the second place*, the said interest to be applied to the use and accommodation of the sick in the said Hospital, and for providing, and at all times having, competent matrons, and a sufficient number of nurses and assistant nurses, in order not only to promote the purpose of the said Hospital, but to increase this last class of useful persons, much wanted in our city.

II. I give and bequeath to "The Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," the sum of *Twenty Thousand Dollars*, for the use of that Institution.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in Henry W. Arey, *The Girard College and Its Founder, Containing the Biography of Mr. Girard and the Will of Mr. Girard* (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 57.

III. I give and bequeath to "The Orphan Asylum of Philadelphia," the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars* for the use of that Institution.

IV. I give and bequeath to "The Comptrollers of the Public Schools for the City and County of Philadelphia," the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars*, for the use of the Schools upon the Lancaster system<sup>\*</sup> in the first section of the first school district of Pennsylvania.

V. I give and bequeath to "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia," the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars*, in trust safely to invest the same in some productive fund, and with the interest and dividends arising therefrom to purchase fuel, between the months of March and August in every year forever, and in the month of January in every year forever, distribute the same amongst poor white house-keepers and room-keepers, of good character, residing in the City of Philadelphia.

VI. I give and bequeath to the Society for the relief of poor and distressed Masters of Ships, their Widows and Children (of which Society I am a member), the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars*, to be added to their Capital stock, for the uses and purposes of said Society.

VII. I give and bequeath to the Trustees of the Masonic Loan the sum of *Twenty Thousand Dollars* . . . . in trust for the use and benefit of "The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and Masonic Jurisdiction thereto belonging," . . . . the interest whereof shall be applied from time to time to the relief of poor and respectable brethren; and in order that the real and benevolent purpose of masonic institutions may be attained, I recommend to the several lodges not to admit to membership, or to receive members from other lodges, unless the applicants shall absolutely be men of sound and good morals.

VIII. I give and bequeath unto Philip Peltz (and others), the sum of *Six Thousand Dollars*, in trust, that they or the survivors or survivor of them shall purchase a suitable piece of ground, as near as may be in the centre of said township, and thereon erect a substantial brick building, sufficiently large for a school house, and the residence of a school-master, one part thereof for poor male white children, and the other part for poor female white children, of said township; . . . . and I do hereby recommend to the citizens of said townships to make additions to the fund whereof I have laid the foundation. . . .

IX-XVIII. [Various bequests to relatives, employees, and friends.]

<sup>\*</sup> [For an account of the so-called "Lancaster system" of educating the poor, see John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1900), V, chap. xlix, 355.]

XIX. [Bequeaths 280,000 acres of land in Louisiana to New Orleans "to such uses and purposes as shall most likely promote the health and general prosperity of the inhabitants of the City of New Orleans," and to Philadelphia, but this land was lost to the legatees by a decision of the Supreme Court.]

XX. And, whereas, I have been for a long time impressed with the importance of educating the poor, and of placing them, by the early cultivation of their minds, and the development of their moral principles, above the many temptations to which, through poverty and ignorance, they are exposed; and I am particularly desirous to provide for such a number of poor male white orphan children as can be trained in one institution, a better education as well as a more comfortable maintenance, than they usually receive from the application of the public funds. . . . Now, I do give, devise and bequeath *all the residue and remainder of my real and personal estate* of every sort and kind wheresoever situate, unto the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia, their successors and assigns, in trust, . . . that is to say: so far as regards my real estate in Pennsylvania, in trust, that no part thereof shall ever be sold or alienated by the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia, or their successors, but the same shall forever thereafter be let from time to time, to good tenants, at yearly or other rents, and upon leases . . . and that the rents, issues, and profits arising therefrom shall be applied . . . to the same uses and purposes as are herein declared of and concerning the residue of my personal estate. . . .

XXI. And so far as regards the residue of my personal estate, in trust, as to *two millions of dollars*, part thereof, to apply and expend so much of that sum as may be necessary, in erecting, as soon as practicably may be, in the centre of my square of ground<sup>1</sup> between High and Chestnut streets, and Eleventh and Twelfth streets, in the City of Philadelphia (which square of ground I hereby devote for the purposes hereinafter stated, and for no other, forever), a permanent college, with suitable out-buildings, sufficiently spacious for the residence and accommodation of at least three hundred scholars, and the requisite teachers and other persons necessary in such an institution as I direct to be established, and in supplying the said college and out-buildings with decent and suitable furniture, as well as books and all things needful to carry into effect my general design.

The said college shall be constructed with the most durable materials,

<sup>1</sup> [By a later addition to the will the site was changed to another which he had recently purchased.]

and in the most permanent manner, avoiding needless ornament, and attending chiefly to the strength, convenience, and neatness of the whole.

. . . .<sup>1</sup>

When the College and appurtenances shall have been constructed and supplied with plain and suitable furniture and books, philosophical and experimental instruments and apparatus, and all other matters needful to carry my general design into execution; the income, issues, and profits of so much of the said sum of two millions of dollars as shall remain unexpended, shall be applied to maintain the said college according to my directions.

1. The Institution shall be organized as soon as practicable, and to accomplish the purpose more effectually, due public notice of the intended opening of the college shall be given—so that there may be an opportunity to make selections of competent instructors, and other agents, and those who may have the charge of orphans may be aware of the provision intended for them.

2. A competent number of instructors, teachers, assistants, and other necessary agents shall be selected, and when needful, their places, from time to time, supplied: they shall receive adequate compensation for their services; but no person shall be employed, who shall not be of tried skill in his or her proper department, of established moral character, and in all cases persons shall be chosen on account of their merit, and not through favor or intrigue.

3. As many poor white male orphans, between the age of six and ten years, as the said income shall be adequate to maintain, shall be introduced into the college as soon as possible; and from time to time, as there may be vacancies, or as increased ability from income may warrant, others shall be introduced.

4. On the application for admission, an accurate statement should be taken in a book, prepared for the purpose, of the name, birthplace, age, health, condition as to relatives, and other particulars useful to be known of each orphan.

<sup>1</sup> [The next six pages are devoted to very minute details relating to the construction of the college buildings and wall. The latter, for example, was to be "a solid wall, at least 14 inches thick, and 10 feet high, capped with marble and guarded with irons on the top, so as to prevent persons from getting over; there shall be two places of entrance into the square, one in the centre of the wall facing High street, and the other in the centre of the wall facing Chestnut street: at each place of entrance there shall be two gates, one opening inward, and the other outward, those opening inward to be of iron, and in the style of the gates north and south of my Banking House; and those opening outward to be of substantial wood work, well lined and secured on the faces thereof with sheet-iron."]

5. No orphan should be admitted until the guardians or directors of the poor, or a proper guardian or other competent authority, shall have given, by indenture, relinquishment, or otherwise, adequate power to the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, or to directors, or others by them appointed, to enforce, in relation to each orphan, every proper restraint, and to prevent relatives or others from interfering with, or withdrawing such orphan from the institution.

6. Those orphans, for whose admission application shall first be made shall be first introduced, all other things concurring—and at all future times, priority of application shall entitle the applicant to preference in admission, all other things concurring; but if there shall be, at any time, more applicants than vacancies, and the applying orphans shall have been born in different places, a preference shall be given—*first*, to orphans born in the city of Philadelphia; *secondly*, to those born in any other part of Pennsylvania; *thirdly*, to those born in the city of New York (that being the first port on the continent of North America at which I arrived); and *lastly*, to those born in the City of New Orleans, being the first port on the said continent at which I first traded, in the first instance as first officer, and subsequently as master and part owner of a vessel and cargo.

7. The orphans admitted into the College, shall be there fed with plain but wholesome food, clothed with plain but decent apparel (no distinctive dress ever to be worn), and lodged in a plain but safe manner. Due regard shall be paid to their health, and to this end their persons and clothes shall be kept clean, and they shall have suitable and rational exercise and recreation: They shall be instructed in the various branches of a sound education, comprehending reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy; natural, chemical, and experimental philosophy, the French and Spanish languages (I do not forbid, but I do not recommend the Greek and Latin languages)—and such other learning and science as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant: I would have them taught facts and things, rather than words or signs; and especially, I desire, that by every proper means a pure attachment to our Republican Institutions, and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitutions, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars.

8. Should it unfortunately happen, that any of the orphans admitted into the College, shall, from malconduct, have become unfit companions for the rest, and mild means of reformation prove abortive, they shall no longer remain therein.

9. Those scholars, who shall merit it, shall remain in the College until



they shall respectively arrive at between fourteen and eighteen years of age; they shall then be bound out by the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, or under their direction, to suitable occupations, as those of agriculture, navigation, arts, mechanical trades, and manufactures, according to the capacities and acquirements of the scholars respectively, consulting, as far as prudence shall justify it, the inclinations of the several scholars, as to the occupation, art or trade, to be learned.

In relation to the organization of the College and its appendages, I leave, necessarily, many details to the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, and their successors; and I do so, with the more confidence, as, from the nature of my bequests, and the benefits to result from them, I trust that my fellow-citizens of Philadelphia will observe and evince especial care and anxiety in selecting members for their City Councils, and other agents.

There are, however, some restrictions, which I consider it my duty to prescribe, and to be, amongst others, conditions on which my bequest for said College is made, and to be enjoyed, namely; *first*, I enjoin and require, that if at the close of any year, the income of the fund devoted to the purposes of the said College shall be more than sufficient for the maintenance of the Institution during that year, then the balance of the said income, after defraying such maintenance, shall be forthwith invested in good securities, thereafter to be and remain a part of the capital; but in no event, shall any part of the said capital be sold, disposed of, or pledged, to meet the current expenses of the said Institution, to which I devote the interest, income and dividends thereof, exclusively: *Secondly*, I enjoin and require that *no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said College: nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college.* In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce; my desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the College, shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars *the purest principles of morality*, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may *from inclination and habit*, evince *benevolence toward their fellow creatures*, and a *love of truth, sobriety, and industry*, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their *matured reason* may enable them to prefer. . . .



In witness, I, the said Stephen Girard, have to this my last Will and Testament, contained in thirty-five pages, set my hand at the bottom of each page, and my hand and seal at the bottom of this page; the said Will executed, from motives of prudence, in duplicate, this sixteenth day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty.

STEPHEN GIRARD (Seal)

February 16, 1830.

#### Opinion of the Court in the Girard Will Case<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Justice Story delivered the opinion of the court.

This cause has been argued with great learning and ability. Many topics have been discussed in the arguments, as illustrative of the principal grounds of controversy, with elaborate care, upon which, however, in the view which we have taken of the merits of the cause, it is not necessary for us to express any opinion, nor even allude to their bearing or application. . . .

The late Stephen Girard, by his will dated the 25th day of December, A.D. 1830, after making sundry bequests to his relatives and friends, to the city of New Orleans, and to certain specified charities, proceeded in the 20th clause of that will to make the following bequest on which the present controversy mainly hinges. "XX, And whereas I have been for a long time impressed, etc."<sup>2</sup> . . .

[The] objection is that the foundation of the college upon the principles and exclusions prescribed by the testator, is derogatory and hostile to the Christian religion, and so is void, as being against the common law and public policy of Pennsylvania; and this for two reasons: First, because of the exclusion of all ecclesiastics, missionaries, and ministers of any sect from holding or exercising any station or duty in the college, or even visiting the same; and Secondly, because it limits the instruction to be given to the scholars to pure morality, and general benevolence, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, thereby excluding, by implication, all instruction in the Christian religion.

In considering this objection, the court are not at liberty to travel out

<sup>1</sup> This document is part of the opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court in the famous case in which the relatives of Stephen Girard attempted to break the will and secure for their private use the funds bequeathed to Girard College. The extract is from *Vidal and Others, Citizens and Subjects of the Monarchy of France, v. The Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, the Executors of Stephen Girard* (1844), 2 Howard (U.S.), 182-201.

<sup>2</sup> [See the extract from the will, p. 483, above.]

of the record in order to ascertain what were the private religious opinions of the testator (of which indeed we can know nothing), nor to consider whether the scheme of education by him prescribed, is such as we ourselves should approve, or as is best adapted to accomplish the great aims and ends of education. Nor are we at liberty to look at general considerations of the supposed public interests and policy of Pennsylvania upon this subject, beyond what its constitution and laws and judicial decisions make known to us. The question, what is the public policy of a state, and what is contrary to it, if inquired into beyond these limits, will be found to be one of great vagueness and uncertainty, and to involve discussions which scarcely come within the range of judicial duty and functions, and upon which men may and will complexionally differ; above all, when that topic is connected with religious polity, in a country composed of such a variety of religious sects as our country, it is impossible not to feel that it would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties, and involve differences of opinion almost endless in their variety. We disclaim any right to enter upon such examinations, beyond what the state constitutions, and laws, and decisions necessarily bring before us.

It is also said, and truly, that the Christian religion is a part of the common law of Pennsylvania. But this proposition is to be received with its appropriate qualifications, and in connection with the bill of rights of that state, as found in its constitution of government. The constitution of 1790 (and the like provision will, in substance, be found in the constitution of 1776, and in the existing constitution of 1838) expressly declares: "That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment or modes of worship." Language more comprehensive for the complete protection of every variety of religious opinion could scarcely be used; and it must have been intended to extend equally to all sects, whether they believed in Christianity or not, and whether they were Jews or infidels. So that we are compelled to admit that although Christianity be a part of the common law of the state, yet it is so in this qualified sense, that its divine origin and truth are admitted, and therefore it is not to be maliciously and openly reviled and blasphemed against, to the annoyance of believers or the injury of the public. Such was the doctrine of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in *Updegraff v. The Commonwealth*, 11 Serg. & R. (Pa.), 394.

It is unnecessary for us, however, to consider what would be the legal effect of a device in Pennsylvania for the establishment of a school or college, for the propagation of Judaism, or Deism, or any other form of infidelity. Such a case is not to be presumed to exist in a Christian country; and therefore it must be made out by clear and indisputable proof. Remote inferences, or possible results, or speculative tendencies, are not to be drawn or adopted for such purposes. There must be plain, positive, and express provisions, demonstrating not only that Christianity is not to be taught; but that it is to be impugned or repudiated.

Now, in the present case, there is no pretense to say that any such positive or express provisions exist, or are even shadowed forth in the will. The testator does not say that Christianity shall not be taught in the college. But only that no ecclesiastic of any sect shall hold or exercise any station or duty in the college. Suppose, instead of this, he had said that no person but a layman shall be an instructor or officer or visitor in the college, what legal objection could have been made to such a restriction? And yet the actual prohibition is in effect the same in substance. But it is asked: why are ecclesiastics excluded if it is not because they are the stated and appropriate preachers of Christianity? The answer may be given in the very words of the testator: "In making this restriction," says he, "I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever, but as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinions, amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce." Here, then, we have the reason given; and the question is not, whether it is satisfactory to us or not; nor whether the history of religion does or does not justify such a sweeping statement; but the question is, whether the exclusion be not such as the testator had a right, consistently with the laws of Pennsylvania, to maintain upon his own notions of religious instruction. Suppose the testator had excluded all religious instructors but Catholics, or Quakers, or Swedenborgians; or, to put a stronger case, he had excluded all religious instructors but Jews, would the bequest have been void on that account? Suppose he had excluded all lawyers, or all physicians, or all merchants from being instructors or visitors, would the prohibition have been fatal to the bequest? The truth is, that in cases of this sort, it is extremely difficult to draw any just and satisfactory line of distinction in a free country as to the qualifications or disqualifications which may be insisted upon by the donor of a charity as to those who shall administer or partake of his bounty.

But the objection itself assumes the proposition that Christianity is not to be taught, because ecclesiastics are not to be instructors or officers. But this is by no means a necessary or legitimate inference from the premises. Why may not laymen instruct in the general principles of Christianity as well as ecclesiastics? There is no restriction as to the religious opinions of the instructors and officers. They may be, and doubtless, under the auspices of the city government, they will always be, men, not only distinguished for learning and talent, but for piety and elevated virtue, and holy lives and characters. And we cannot overlook the blessings, which such men by their conduct, as well as their instructions, may, nay, must impart to their youthful pupils. Why may not the Bible, and especially the New Testament, without note or comment, be read and taught as a divine revelation in the college—its general precepts expounded, its evidences explained, and its glorious principles of morality inculcated? What is there to prevent a work, not sectarian, upon the general evidences of Christianity, from being read and taught in the college by lay-teachers? Certainly there is nothing in the will, that proscribes such studies. Above all, the testator positively enjoins, "that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that on their entrance into active life, they may from inclination and habit evince benevolence towards their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their mature reason may enable them to prefer." Now, it may well be asked, what is there in all this, which is positively enjoined, inconsistent with the spirit or truths of Christianity? Are not these truths all taught by Christianity, although it teaches much more? Where can the purest principles of morality be learned so clearly or so perfectly as from the New Testament? Where are benevolence, the love of truth, sobriety, and industry, so powerfully and irresistibly inculcated as in the sacred volume? The testator has not said how these great principles are to be taught, or by whom, except it be by laymen, nor what books are to be used to explain or enforce them. All that we can gather from his language is, that he desired to exclude sectarians and sectarianism from the college, leaving the instructors and officers free to teach the purest morality, the love of truth, sobriety, and industry, by all appropriate means; and of course including the best, the surest, and the most impressive. The objection, then, in this view, goes to this—either that the testator has totally omitted to provide for religious instruction in his scheme of education (which, from what has been already said, is an inadmissible interpretation) or that it includes but

partial and imperfect instruction in those truths. In either view can it be truly said that it contravenes the known law of Pennsylvania upon the subject of charities, or is not allowable under the article of the bill of rights already cited? Is an omission to provide for instruction in Christianity in any scheme of school or college education a fatal defect, which avoids it according to the law of Pennsylvania? If the instruction provided for is incomplete and imperfect, is it equally fatal? These questions are propounded, because we are not aware that any thing exists in the constitution or laws of Pennsylvania, or the judicial decisions of its tribunals, which would justify us in pronouncing that such defects would be so fatal. Let us take the case of a charitable donation to teach poor orphans reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and navigation, and excluding all other studies, and instruction; would the donation be void, as a charity in Pennsylvania, as being derogatory to Christianity? Hitherto it has been supposed, that a charity for the instruction of the poor might be good and valid in England even if it did not go beyond the establishment of a grammar-school. And in America, it has been thought, in the absence of any express legal prohibitions, that the donor might select the studies, as well as the classes of persons, who were to receive his bounty without being compellable to make religious instruction a necessary part of those studies. It has hitherto been thought sufficient, if he does not require anything to be taught inconsistent with Christianity.

Looking at the objection therefore in a mere juridical view, which is the only one in which we are at liberty to consider it, we are satisfied that there is nothing in the devise establishing the college, or in the regulations and restrictions contained therein, which are inconsistent with the Christian religion, or are opposed to any known policy of the state of Pennsylvania.

This view of the whole matter renders it unnecessary for us to examine the other and remaining question, to whom, if the devise were void, the property would belong, whether it would fall into the residue of the estate devised to the city, or become a resulting trust for the heirs at law.

Upon the whole, it is the unanimous opinion of the court that the decree of the Circuit Court of Pennsylvania dismissing the bill ought to be affirmed, and it is accordingly affirmed with costs.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

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NEWS from the National Conference of Social Work and the American Association of Social Workers deals principally with the new officers, committee appointments, and early preparation for the conferences of 1928. The election as president of the Conference of Sherman C. Kingsley, of Philadelphia, who is claimed by Cleveland and Chicago as one of their own, is by this time known to social workers everywhere. Howard Knight continues as secretary, and Mr. Bookman was re-elected treasurer. The new vice-presidents are Porter Lee, of New York; Dr. Cabot, of Boston; and Miss Harriet Vittum, of Chicago. Miss Louise Cottrell, of Iowa City; Mr. Eugene K. Jones, of New York City; Dr. Philip Klein, of New York City; Miss Gertrude Vaile, of Ames; and Professor Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, of Chicago, are the new members of the Executive Committee. Plans for the next conference, which is to be held at Memphis, May 7-16, 1928, are already under way.

The annual meeting of the American Association of Social Workers at Des Moines was exceptionally well attended, approximately five hundred people being present. The president, Dr. Neva Deardorff, was re-elected with great enthusiasm. The other officers elected include David C. Adie, Linton B. Swift, Mary Russell, vice-presidents, and Dorothy Kahn and John A. Fitch, secretaries. Other members of the Executive Committee are Katharine Hardwick, William Hodson, Florence Hutsinpillar, Wilfred Reynolds, Katherine Tucker, Walter Whitson, Joanna C. Colcord, Stanley Davies, and Harry Lurie.

The publication is announced of the first volume of the Job Analysis Study made by Miss Louise Odencrantz of the Association staff, which covers positions in the fields of family case work, medical case work, and psychiatric social work. The group worker's "job" is to be analyzed during the coming year, and the new study will cover the settlements, community centers, institutional churches, Y.W.C.A.'s, etc.

The analysis of 500 or more schedules in personnel practices obtaining in social agencies throughout the country, by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. John A. Fitch, is announced as a new project. Plans are also under way for a preliminary tentative census of social workers to be carried on with the aid of the chapters in preparation for a future request



to the United States Census Bureau for a new classification of social workers in the next census enumeration.

THE new officers of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers include Mrs. Charles W. Webb, of Cleveland, president; Edith Baker, Margaret Brogden, and Helen Myrick, vice-presidents; Dorothy Ketcham, secretary; and Janet Schoenfeld, treasurer; with Ida Cannon, Mabel Wilson, Ruth Emerson, and Ruth Wadman on the Executive Committee. Kate McMahon continues as educational secretary, and Helen Beckley takes over the work of the executive secretary, with headquarters in Chicago.

One of the meetings at Des Moines was given over to the report of the Prize Case Committee made by Miss Baker, and to the reading of the cases by the writers. Miss Baker reported that seven brief case records were submitted, and the prize for this group was awarded to the record submitted by Elizabeth Bryant, University Hospital, Philadelphia. Thirty-three intensive records were submitted. The prize for this group was divided between the records submitted by Miss Gertrude Tennant, of the Mayo Clinic, and Mrs. Colina, of the Barnard Free Skin and Cancer Hospital, St. Louis. Fifteen records of those submitted were on exhibit during the conference. Arrangements have been completed for the publication of five of the records by the University of Chicago Press.

Plans for the year include a report of the study of 1,000 case records, which will soon be available. The Records Committee will study "terminology"; and a Committee on the Relationship between Social Service Committees and Professional Workers, whose membership consists of a board member and a professional worker from hospitals in five different cities, will study this question of relationship, which is often vaguely defined and little understood. The fall meeting of the Association will be held in Minneapolis, October 10-14, in co-operation with the annual meeting of the American Hospital Association.

THE twenty-first annual conference of the National Probation Association, which was also held in Des Moines, was attended by over two hundred delegates, representing twenty-nine states, Canada, and Cuba. The meetings this year took on more than ever the character of an institute or study group for the exchange of ideas and the betterment of methods in the probation service.

The officers elected include Dr. Charles Platt, president, and Judge Mary M. Bartelme, vice-president. The other members of the Board in-



clude Dr. Miriam Van Waters, Judge George C. Appell, Judge George H. Day, Judge L. B. Day, Professor Raymond Moley, and Chief Probation Officer Joseph P. Murphy.

A committee of the Association has been appointed by the president to prepare a series of standards and rules for the organization and administration of probation work generally. The Association indorsed the work and the report of the Committee on Domestic Relations Courts, and recommended that the committee continue its work of attempting to develop standards and recommendations based on the data secured by the Association and the United States Children's Bureau. The work of the Committee on Records and Statistics was commended for its case-record forms, juvenile and adult, which have been published and distributed by the Association; and the report and plans offered by the Committee on Runaway Children were approved and indorsed.

THE pardon granted Anita Whitney in June by Governor Young of California adds to the interest that should be felt by social workers in three decisions handed down on May 16, 1927, by the United States Supreme Court on the anti-syndicalism laws. Many of these laws were passed during the years 1917-22, but these decisions relate to the laws of two states only—the California law being in question in the cases of *Burns v. U.S.* and *Whitney v. California*, and the Kansas law in the case of *Fiske v. Kansas*. In all three cases the validity of the anti-syndicalism laws was upheld, but otherwise the cases presented different questions. In the Kansas case the whole court agreed; in the Burns case Justice Brandeis and Justice Holmes felt it necessary, although concurring in the decision, to set out their views. These differences in the treatment of the cases by the Supreme Court are explained by the differences in fact and especially, perhaps, by the differences in professional skill with which the cases were handled in the lower courts. Briefly, the facts in the three cases as stated or summarized in the opinions are as follows:

The California law of 1919 made it a crime knowingly to be or to become a member of or to assist in organizing an association to advocate, teach, or abet the commission of crimes or unlawful acts of force, violence, or terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political changes.

Miss Whitney, of Oakland, who had been active in charitable and civic work, was found guilty of violating this law under the following circumstances. She became a member of the local branch of the Socialist party, which in 1919 sent delegates to the National Convention of the party held in Chicago, where there was a break "between the old-wing socialists and

the radicals." The "radicals," including the Oakland delegates, were ejected from the meeting, went into another hall, and formed the Communist Labor party of America. Shortly after this, the local withdrew from the Socialist party and sent delegates, among whom was Miss Whitney, to a Convention held to organize a California branch of the Communist Labor party. Miss Whitney served as chairman of the Credentials Committee and as member of the Resolutions Committee, which submitted the following:

The C.L.P. of California fully recognizes the value of political action as a means of spreading communist propaganda; it insists that in proportion to the development of the economic strength of the working class, it, the working class, must also develop its political power. The C.L.P. of California proclaims and insists that the capture of political power, locally or nationally by the revolutionary working class, can be of tremendous assistance to the workers in their struggle for emancipation. Therefore, we again urge the workers who are possessed of the right of franchise to cast their votes for the party which represents their immediate and final interest—the C.L.P.—at all elections, being fully convinced of the utter futility of obtaining any real measure of justice or freedom under officials elected by parties owned and controlled by the capitalist class.

The Convention replaced this resolution by the so-called "National Program," and adopted a constitution providing for affiliating with the Communist Labor party of America and, indirectly, being "joined with the Communist International of Moscow."

Although Miss Whitney remained an active member of the organization, she denied that either she or the party had any intention that the party should be an instrument of violence or terrorism or that any law should be violated. She was, however, found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment—a judgment affirmed by the higher court (57 Calif. App. 449).

Burns was charged with organizing I.W.W. associations in Yosemite National Park, but he was arraigned before the federal court under a federal statute providing that persons found guilty of offenses in the Yosemite Valley not provided for under federal laws might receive the same penalty provided in California statutes. In the Burns case, sabotage was especially alleged, but the accused argued that neither his conduct nor that of the organization was proved to come under the statutory definition.

In the Kansas case (*Fiske v. U.S.*), coming up from the state court, the defendant was charged with violating the anti-syndicalism law which contained clauses analogous to those in the California law. At the trial it

was brought out that the defendant was active in organizing the I.W.W. No evidence was given, however, that either the acts of the defendant or the purposes of the organization were within the terms of the statute. The defense not only argued that the evidence did not show a public offense and asked for a new trial on the ground that the verdict was against the evidence but appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that a federal right was denied. Under these conditions the United States Supreme Court could not only take jurisdiction but review the facts as well, and it was held that, without evidence that the organization for which the accused secured members advocated unlawful acts or methods, the conviction was an arbitrary and unreasonable exercise of the police power, and the case was remanded, the entire court agreeing, for further proceedings.

In the Whitney case no question of federal right was raised in the lower court, and, on first application, the United States Supreme Court refused jurisdiction. Justice Brandeis points out in his concurring opinion, in which Justice Holmes joins, that the crime created by the statute is a very novel crime, that the legislature has the power to restrict the rights of free speech and assembly when such restriction is necessary "to protect the state from destruction or serious injury, political, economic or moral." Justice Brandeis cites authority (*Schenck v. U.S.*, 249 U.S. 52) to show that such necessity does not exist unless the speech would produce or is intended to produce a clear and imminent danger of a substantive evil which the state constitutionally may seek to prevent.

There must be reasonable ground to believe that the danger apprehended is imminent. There must be reasonable ground to believe that the evil to be prevented is a serious one. Every denunciation of existing law tends in some measure to increase the probability that there will be violation of it. (Compare Judge Learned Hand in *Masses Publishing Co. v. Patten*, 244 Fed. 535, 540; Judge Amidon in *U.S. v. Fontana*, *Bull. Dept. Justice*, No. 148, pp. 4-5; Chafee, *Freedom of Speech*, pp. 46-56, 174.) Condonation of a breach enhances the probability. Expressions of approval add to the probability. Propagation of the criminal state of mind by teaching syndicalism increases it. Advocacy of law-breaking heightens it still further. But even advocacy of violation, however reprehensible morally, is not a justification for denying free speech where the advocacy falls short of incitement and there is nothing to indicate that the advocacy would be immediately acted on. The wide difference between advocacy and incitement, between preparation and attempt, between assembling and conspiracy, must be borne in mind. In order to support a finding of clear and present danger it must be shown either that immediate serious violence was to be expected or was advocated, or that the past conduct furnished reason to believe that such advocacy was then contemplated. . . .

There must be the probability of serious injury to the State. Among free men, the deterrents ordinarily to be applied to prevent crime are education and punishment for violations of the law, not abridgment of the rights of free speech and assembly.

Under these circumstances, admitting the authority of the legislature, the question should still have been raised whether as a matter of fact such peril did actually exist. No such question was raised, however, and as the case came up from a state court and not from an inferior federal court, the Supreme Court could not correct errors of that kind, and Justice Brandeis was therefore compelled to concur in the decision of the court.

To summarize, then, it may be said that the validity of these acts is for the time sustained; that in the Kansas case, however, it was held that evidence showing the agreement between the acts done and the terms of the statute must be adequate; in the Burns case, there was dissent on the ground of error; in the Whitney case, there was no dissent, but the legal handling of the case was made the subject of sharp comment by the majority and of regretful discussion by the two concurring justices.

In the Whitney case the Governor has granted a pardon, and Burns is moving a rehearing, but the issues will not be finally settled until the anti-syndicalist laws in the various states are repealed, and all those now serving prison sentences under the laws are pardoned.

THREE generations of imbeciles are enough," said Mr. Justice Holmes of the United States Supreme Court on May 2, when he handed down an opinion holding the Virginia sterilization law constitutional. In the case of *Carrie Buck*, by *R. G. Skelton*, *Her Guardian and Next Friend*, v. *J. H. Bell*, *Superintendent of the State Colony for Epileptics*, the act passed in 1924 by the Virginia Legislature (*Acts of Virginia*, 1924, chap. 394, p. 569), authorizing, under conditions intended to safeguard the patient against abuse, the sterilization of certain persons who should in the judgment of the authorities be deprived of the right of parenthood is upheld. The plaintiff, who is the daughter of a feeble-minded mother and the mother of an illegitimate feeble-minded daughter, pled that the act was void under the Fourteenth Amendment as denying due process of law and the equal protection of the law.

Justice Holmes reviewed the procedure prescribed by the statute, which was scrupulously followed in this case and by which he thinks the rights of the patient are sufficiently protected, supplying due process of law. With reference to the general principle, he finds that when public welfare may call on its best citizens for their lives, it may surely "call on those who sap the strength of the state for lesser sacrifices, often not felt

to be such by those concerned, in order to prevent our being swamped by incompetence. It is better for all the world, if, instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind." The principle of compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover the operation allowed in these statutes (*Jacobson v. Massachusetts*, 197 U.S. 11).

The argument of unfair discrimination in allowing treatment of this kind in the case of persons in institutions, while ignoring the same types of persons who are not confined, is briefly disposed of by Justice Holmes:

But, it is said, however it might be if this reasoning were applied generally, it fails when it is confined to the small number who are in the institutions named and is not applied to the multitudes outside. It is the usual last resort of constitutional arguments to point out shortcomings of this sort. But the answer is that the law does all that is needed when it does all that it can, indicates a policy, applies it to all within the lines, and seeks to bring within the lines all similarly situated so far and so fast as its means allow. Of course so far as the operations enable those who otherwise must be kept confined to be returned to the world, and thus open the asylum to others, the equality aimed at will be more nearly reached.

There are said to be fifteen states in which the process has been authorized, and those laws that have been taken to the supreme courts of the states have been upheld. In several states very considerable numbers of operations were being resorted to. At the close of 1925,<sup>1</sup> for example, seven states had reported its use: California in 4,500 cases; Kansas, 335; Nebraska, 260; Oregon, 303; Wisconsin, 144; Indiana, 700; Michigan, 100; but no case had been taken to the United States Supreme Court.

The Buck decision, as has been said, has been widely commented on.

There is a widespread fear of the abuse of power. *The Hartford Times*, for example, lays stress on the limited knowledge as yet available with reference to the transmitting of characteristics; and the *New York Nation* says in the issue of June 8:

. . . The power is an extremely dangerous one, and so Justice Holmes dwells upon the provisions of the Virginia law intended to prevent a misuse of this power. In a number of the states laws like this have already been passed, and it cannot be denied that they have been in response to a growing demand for something of this kind. But, if the proceeding is not profoundly safeguarded, terrible wrongs to individuals may ensue. It is reported that in California alone 635 insane people have been sterilized. But who can ever be certain that sanity may

<sup>1</sup> See the weekly magazine, *Time*, May 16, 1927.

not be restored? Remarkable cures do take place and persons recover their wits long after their cases seemed hopeless. Obviously every possible protection must be thrown about this procedure lest it become not an advance, but a weapon of mischief, cruelty, and perhaps even revenge.

MAN'S inhumanity to man has seldom been more forcibly illustrated than on the occasion of the refusal of the prison guards at Sing-Sing Prison on July 4 to go themselves, or to permit any of the 1,200 prison inmates who were in the yard to go, to the rescue of three capsized canoeists who fought a losing battle for fifteen minutes in the Hudson River just off the penitentiary walls. The newspaper reports said there was an instinctive movement in the gray-clad convict ranks toward the river and the work of rescue, but "the rifles of the keepers came up, suggesting . . . even in the work of rescue some of the prisoners might break for liberty." One of the canoeists went down for the last time fifteen feet from the end of the pier where guards and convicts looked on. The newspaper accounts further report that "the accident had a profound effect on the inmates of the prison, ranging from lifers to short-time men, and some of them wept. Many of them were unable to eat at dinner time, although the Fourth of July is one of the three days in the year when a chicken dinner is served." The cries of the three lads who were battling with wind and tide were distinctly heard. "They kept calling for help and shouting that they were drowning." Several of the prisoners begged to be allowed to risk swimming out to the rescue. "Some of them cried at the dock. The officers had to threaten to shoot them to hold them back." Trustees were dispatched to the prison to notify keepers on duty to summon the chief of police from the village. He arrived in time to rescue the canoe, which had drifted to the beach and in which was a suitcase containing three lunches.

What a contrast to the situation described in Associated Press dispatches from Louisiana last May. Those dispatches told the story of 600 convicts from the Louisiana state penitentiary who were

toiling heroically on the levees to save Louisiana's fertile farms from the tremendous flow of flood waters rushing down the Atchafalaya and Mississippi rivers and at places where a sudden crevasse would endanger their lives. . . .

Because the guards were needed also to work on the levees, the convicts established their own sentinel system and at night the prisoners themselves stood guard to prevent any "black sheep" from breaking away. They worked all day diligently and then went to an improvised bunkhouse of a plantation barn or a boat.



Only one escape occurred: a lifer for murder got away at Donaldsonville one night. The next day he walked back into the camp and shamefacedly asked for his shovel and has been working since.

Louisiana, we are told, places her prisoners on their honor, and in a life-and-death emergency the convicts kept faith with the state. And yet Sing-Sing prison is the place where the late Thomas Mott Osborne made the great experiment of establishing "a democracy within prison walls!"

THE interesting monthly issued by the National Urban League, *Opportunity, a Journal of Negro Life*, contained in its June issue two editorials of general interest. The first of these dealt with the southern floods. The Negro editors do not overlook the three great problems left in the wake of the receding waters: immediate emergency relief, protection against subsequent floods, and the long arduous task of rehabilitation. But the Negro editors add:

It is permissible, however, to pause a moment over one condition on which information has been unusually meager: The Delta regions in Mississippi and Arkansas which felt the first force of the rampant river are practically Negro country. In the 12 counties of Mississippi bordering on the river, two have a Negro population from 50 to 75 per cent of the total, and ten counties over 75 per cent. Much the same is true of Arkansas: of 7 counties 5 have more than 75 per cent Negroes in the total. In this area alone are 350,000 Negroes. They are acute sufferers of a somewhat different order from the others who may look for relief to the Federal Banks and somewhat the Farm Bureau. They are the tenants, who have lived precariously on cotton, and are lost when both crops and credit are impossible. The Red Cross is doing excellent emergency service. It could with immense profit enlist the assistance of Negro social organizations that for years have worked with this group and understand it. Cast adrift by the utter loss of their homes and possessions these black tenants are the potential problems of cities, South and North. The services of the Negro social workers have been offered to the President, to the Red Cross, and to Secretary Hoover of the Department of the Interior. So far these offers have been politely acknowledged but without further action. The work of rehabilitation will most certainly require the experience of these organizations if it is to be most effective. Already there are wild rumors of forced labor of Negroes, and forced imprisonment for farm work when the waters recede. Blundering tactics now can stimulate a migration too uncalculating and desperate to be economically wise.

THE second editorial describes a new method of dealing with the Negro crime rate. The editors acknowledge that "judged by arrests and convictions" the crime rate for Negroes has been from two to five times the rate for the whole population. They make a reasonable discount for



the overreadiness to arrest and convict Negroes on trivial as well as serious charges, but they are more interested in "a soundly sensible attack on the problem." The method of such an attack has been worked out in Columbus, Ohio, through the co-operative effort of the Columbus Urban League, Ohio State University, and a reasonable and apparently intelligent chief of police who

was aware that the volume of increase in Negro crime was in migrant Negroes from small rural towns in the South, ignorant of the city's laws and ordinances, new to the sudden stimulations of a city, resourceless in the frequent situations which the more exacting environment imposed. A crime committee was formed, and an intelligent Negro officer of nine years' experience, detached from police duty to act as a friendly guide and worker with this new group. His work was not to arrest or even to detect crime for the department; he was detailed to co-ordinate the police department with public and private agencies in the city. His business was to understand why offences were committed. The program as worked out by the committee came to be known as the Friendly Service Bureau. That was in the fall of 1924, when the rapid increase in crime was threatening serious racial difficulties. The rest may be told briefly in two figures: In 1925 there were 7,100 Negro arrests; in 1926 there were 4,630, a decrease of 35 per cent.

**A**N INTERESTING editorial in the London *Times* discusses the vital statistics of France for 1926 and points out a remarkable correspondence to those of England and Wales for the same period.

The population of France is given as 40,745,000; that of England and Wales in the same year was estimated at 39,067,000. In France there were 766,226 births; in England and Wales 694,126. Marriages in France numbered 346,126; in England and Wales 279,321. The French marriage and birth rates were respectively 17 per 1,000 population and 18.8 per 1,000 population; the same rates for England and Wales were 14.3 per 1,000 and 17.8 per 1,000.

France therefore had a slight advance over England both in the relative number of persons married during the year and in the relative number of births, facts that are not well known. Even less known, however, is the fact that the French infant death-rate compares so unfavorably with the English that there were, during 1926, 74,698 deaths of infants under one year of age in France, as against 48,503 deaths of infants under one year of age in England and Wales. Thus the infant death-rate per 1,000 births stands in France above 80, whereas in England and Wales it is 70. The *Times* adds that

these figures do not, however, do justice to the efforts which the French Government is now making to rescue and preserve infant life. In the year 1913 the in-

fant death-rates of France and England were respectively 112 and 108. The disorganization caused by the war imposed a severe handicap upon the efforts of the French, and this handicap remains, to some extent, until the present time. Indeed, France deserves the highest credit for the splendid progress she has made in the realm of public health. In spite of the war, in spite of the invasion of her provinces and the inevitable dislocation of her sanitary services, she has succeeded, since 1913, in reducing her infant death-rate from 112 to 83 per 1,000.

Infant life is much safer today in all the Northern European countries than it was before the war, and in all these countries continuous efforts are being made still further to protect and preserve it. They are likely to be attended by success because the material of child life, which it is sought to save, is, generally speaking, good; the idea that only unfit children die young is entirely fallacious. This point deserves more emphasis than is usually accorded to it. The killing diseases of the first year of life are not as a rule diseases with any special tendency to select the unfit as their victims. Fit and unfit suffer equally and at the same time from both measles and "infantile cholera," the two chief foes. A life saved during this first year, therefore, is usually a "good life." The real advantage to a nation of campaigns to reduce its infant death-rate is not, however, to be measured only, or chiefly, in terms of lives saved. A truer standard is the improvement which always occurs as the result of such campaigns in the general health of childhood. Better sanitation and hygiene and more careful nursing and "mothering" can be relied upon not only to prevent disease but also to increase fitness. Thus the childhood of modern France, no less than the childhood of modern England, is healthier and stronger than was childhood before the war.

**P**LANs for the International Conference of Social Work are slowly taking shape under the general direction of the secretary of the Organizing Committee, Dr. René Sand, of Paris, secretary of the League of Red Cross Societies. The Conference is to be held in Paris, July 9-13, 1928, as announced in the last number of the *Review*, and during the same month the older conferences of "child welfare" and "public and private relief" are also to meet in Paris. The tentative program for the new Conference includes the following sections: I, "General Organization of Social Work," Percy Alden, of London, chairman; II, "Training for Social Work," Alice Salomon, of Berlin, chairman; III, "Methods of Social Case Work," Mrs. John M. Glenn, of New York, chairman; IV, "Social Work and Industry," Albert Thomas, of Geneva, chairman; V, "Social Work and Public Health," Professor Bagge, of Stockholm, chairman.

The program cannot of course cover the whole field of social work, and the plan is apparently to omit the important subjects already dealt with in the old international social-work conferences. Thus, the fact that an International Congress of Settlements, an International Pen-

itiary Congress, an International Congress of Social Hygiene, an International Child Welfare Congress, and an International Congress of Public and Private Relief already exist no doubt explains the omission of these subjects of major importance in the field of social work from the program. On the other hand, "Industry and Public Health" has also been the subject of numerous international conferences, so that reasons for the selection of some subjects and the omission of others are not altogether clear. The organizers of the Conference announce that they feel that this Conference, being the first international meeting of this kind, should limit itself to the basic problems. "To do otherwise," they say, "would be to invite confusion. It is already a very difficult task to try to discuss a few of these complicated questions, which are being tackled in the various countries from so many different viewpoints." It is to be hoped that there will be a good attendance from America at all these July, 1928, conferences.

THE program for the Conference in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Family Social Work in America has been announced. The Conference will be held at the Hotel Statler, Buffalo, October 2-5, 1927. Frank J. Bruno, of St. Louis, is the chairman, and Walter M. West, of New York, secretary. In announcing the program, the Committee ask "What of Family Life Today?" and submit the following statement:

As the family presents new aspects not noted in other generations and loses some of its former practices, it becomes a subject of much public discussion, many head-shakings and much alarm. It is blamed for all the range of present-day ills, from the crime wave to cosmetics.

Although much talked about, the family has not been as carefully studied as have other institutions. What its changes mean, and what successful family life must require of other forms of social life, are questions of present and future inquiry.

Family societies are dealing day by day with family life in their respective communities. Added together the number of direct and recorded family contacts makes an imposing figure. Thus family social work has an important part in the discovery of the meaning of family life, a part which will give it added usefulness and new meaning to a public already interested in the subject of family life.

The Buffalo Conference will be used to discover how the contribution of family social work can be made of most value and how family social work can align itself with the other fields of social thought and action, represented by the distinguished speakers on the program.

As the family is a matter of universal interest, it is the especial concern of

social case workers—whether staff members, volunteers, or those who are shaping policies on boards of management.

Papers for the various sessions include:

- "The Family Welfare Movement in America," by Mrs. John M. Glenn, of New York
- "The Contributions of Social Case Work to Modern Life," by Gordon Hamilton, of New York
- "The Biological Basis of the Family," by Herbert S. Jennings, of Johns Hopkins University
- "Social Heritage and the Family," by W. F. Ogburn, University of Chicago
- "Family Life and the Press," by Henry Seidel Canby, of New York
- "New Tools of Leisure," by Karl de Schweinitz, of Philadelphia
- "The Concern of the Community with Marriage," by Mary E. Richmond, of New York
- "Education for Marriage and Parenthood," by Ernest R. Groves, of Boston, and Dorothy Canfield Fisher, of Vermont
- "Religion and Family Life," by Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford
- "The Family and Its Neighborhood," by Frederick May Eliot, of St. Paul
- "The Integrity of Family Life as a Test of Industry," by A. J. Muste, of Brookwood
- "Rediscovery of the Individual in Industry," by David C. Adie, of Buffalo
- "The Meaning of This Fiftieth Anniversary," by F. J. Bruno, of St. Louis

The program also includes informal conferences on "The Volunteer" and on "Marriage and Parenthood," and a centennial dinner.

NEWS comes from France supplying the details of a National Conference of Public and Private Assistance to be held in Nancy from October 27 to 30. This is the first meeting, since the War, of this Conference, which was organized in 1894 by M. Casimir-Perrier, and has held earlier meetings at Lyon (1894), Rouen (1898), Bordeaux (1903), Rheims (1908), Nantes (1911), and Montpellier (1914). M. Paul Strauss, formerly minister of hygiene, is now president, and M. Paul Morel, member of Parliament, formerly undersecretary of state in the departments of the Interior, of Commerce and Industry, and of Finance, is chairman of the Executive Committee. The questions announced for discussion are: (1) the battle against the great social evils, such as tuberculosis, syphilis, and cancer, the rôle to be played by the different authorities and agencies and the interrelationships among these in this movement; (2) the question of assistance to persons of moderate means and of temporary aid; (3) the rôle of public-health nurses and of social workers in relation to public welfare; (4) the law of July 7, 1877, under which soldiers in need of medical care are treated in civil hospitals and in "mixed" hospitals, and the effect

of that law on the organization of the hospitals; (5) the extension to preventoria of the law of September 7, 1919 (*Loi Honorat*) on Sanatoria, which required each department either to establish a sanatorium for the treatment of tubercular persons or to enter into an agreement with a sanatorium for the care of residents of that department.

Other questions within the same general field of interest may be added later, if interest is expressed and time allowed. Provision will also be made for visits of observation to institutions and agencies in Nancy. The meeting assumes special significance as it is the first to be held in the "lost provinces" since their recovery. The officers are especially urging women, who have so increased in number in the field of charitable effort, to attend and to take part in the sessions.

In the May issue of *La revue philanthropique*, the questions discussed at earlier meetings of the Conference are given.

**A**N INTERESTING event in France has been the celebration of the anniversary of the establishment of the Lille Bureau of Charity. Four hundred years ago, on April 30, 1527, the magistrate of Lille promulgated an ordinance reciting that, inasmuch as earlier indiscriminate almsgiving had led many persons to beg to the detriment of the truly poor, begging either by day or night was thenceforward prohibited except by orphan children, lepers, and members of the mendicant religious orders. In the same ordinance it was provided that from the well-to-do persons of the town there were to be chosen five men, one from each parish, who should care for all the poor and reduce almsgiving to some kind of order. They were to be aided by two delegates in each parish who should receive the pence of the poor and the gifts of the rich and make a common purse from which relief should be given to those who could show that they had been residents for two years in the city.

This was later confirmed, October 7, 1531, by Charles V, proclaimed at Brussels, and elaborated by the requirement that one office should have control of all the charitable funds, the lists of the poor, and the hospitals and brotherhoods. At the same time provision was made for the setting up of collection boxes in the churches where collections might be taken, providing for a collector who should receive and account for contributions, and stipulating that there should be maintained a register of the poor of the city.

In commemoration of its four hundredth anniversary the administration of the Bureau de bienfaisance arranged a special distribution of meat to the destitute of the city on the last day of April of the current year.

THE recent celebration in London of the centenary year of William Blake, the poet and mystic, should not be overlooked by social reformers. The man who in the eighteenth century wrote the two songs of the chimney sweep should be gratefully remembered in his memorial year. Bitterly poor himself, he understood the sufferings of the poor. Jonas Hanway and his small band of followers were laboring zealously to abolish chimney sweeping by children, when Blake's song of the sweep helped the public to see

The little black figure among the snow  
Crying, "Sweep, sweep" in tones of woe.

But the hard heart of Parliament was not softened by Blake any more than it was by the later appeals of the "Society for Abolishing the Work of Climbing Boys," as the chimney sweeps were called. Dickens and the great Lord Shaftesbury also tried with little success to mitigate the sufferings of the children apprenticed to this miserable trade. It was an interesting social reform movement extending well over a hundred years and achieving success finally with the help of a later English writer, Charles Kingsley, whose *Water Babies* completed the good work that Blake's early poems had helped to inaugurate.

AMONG the difficult problems of public organization resulting from the automobile and the other means of rapid transportation is the preservation of order and the protection of life and property in rural areas. The creation of state police authorities has been resorted to in some jurisdictions, notably in Western Canada and in Pennsylvania, and has been attempted in other states, where resistance has been offered by organized labor as well as by those who do not wish the law-enforcing agencies to be rendered more efficient. That the creation of a state-wide authority is eventually inevitable would probably be acknowledged; that there are dangers of its being abused, perhaps in time of industrial dispute or of public excitement, is also obvious. On this account the New Jersey "Jutland Verdict" (*New York Times*, June 20, 1927), while perhaps a "blessing in disguise," is at first appearance a catastrophe. That verdict found two members of the New Jersey state police guilty of manslaughter in a prosecution involving fourteen "troopers" and two agents of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. What had happened was, briefly, a complaint that two brothers, Timothy and James Meaney, and their sister, Beatrice, were neglecting their cattle. When there is a conviction under a complaint of this kind, half the fine goes to the complainant, and two agents of the Anti-Cruelty Society came to arrest the accused persons.



They denied the charges and asked that the agents return the next day. The agents, however, returned the same day with a constable and were followed by a number of state troopers. In the struggle one brother was wounded, and the sister was killed. The accused claimed that they did not know they were dealing with uniformed police, and it was shown that one of them fired a fowling gun loaded with bird shot and slightly wounded a trooper, while the troopers had used 100 rounds of rifle and pistol ammunition. The state police, which has been a useful body and has vindicated the judgment of those who urged its establishment by its work in making arrests, securing conviction, and checking crime, will undoubtedly have a clearer idea of the rights of the people and so will be more serviceable than before. On the other hand, the episode will undoubtedly strengthen the position of those in other states who oppose the creation of similar bodies, and will render more difficult the solution of the problem of rural crime.

**T**HE ANNOUNCEMENT that the Welfare Council of New York City has established a research bureau, is of national interest and importance. Research bureaus often fail for lack of adequate funds or lack of competent direction, and it is significant that in this case two of the great New York foundations, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Commonwealth Fund, have made adequate grants aggregating more than \$300,000, and that the Bureau will be in charge of some of the ablest and most constructive minds that social work in America has developed. With adequate resources and with Mr. William Hodson as director of the Council and Dr. Neva Deardorff as director of the Bureau, results of value to social workers in all parts of the country will be forthcoming. But good research work takes time, and it is hoped that the plant will not be dug up before it has had time to grow! The president of the Council, Mr. Robert W. de Forest, has stressed the importance of a study of the social assets and liabilities of New York because of the large sums needed there for charitable and welfare enterprises and because of the diversity of the social problems to be solved. It is said that more than \$100,000,000 a year is now being expended by various agencies, and the Welfare Council ought to be in a position to co-ordinate their activities and thus greatly enhance their usefulness. Mr. de Forest is right in saying that

A complete and reasonably exact knowledge of the whole complex situation is essential before any plan for correlation of the existing forces can produce successful results. To provide this information the research bureau has been placed at the disposal of the various organizations.



Some of the questions to which the Welfare Council hopes to supply the answers for the community are:

Does this community adequately and efficiently meet the needs of those who are unable to provide properly for themselves? Are there gaps in our social work?

Do the existing agencies work together effectively and do they render service proportionate to their expenditures? Is there duplication or overlapping?

What is the total cost of social work in the city and how do the costs per unit of service compare as between agencies doing similar work?

The research bureau will also seek information on questions that will be the basis for social agencies to study their own problems and work them out, and to establish units of measurement for the quality and character of their service.

The projects to be undertaken immediately include a study of income and expenditures of social agencies over a period of years, and a survey of the settlement house situation to discover what is being done by the 115 institutions in this field and to provide a basis for future planning.

**I**N 1910 the United States Census for the first time included trained nurses in the group of professional workers, lifting them out of the "domestic and personal service group" where they had been listed up to that time. This action was based largely on the fact that there had been for several decades well-recognized schools of professional training for that vocation. Evidence supporting this decision is found in the recent semi-centennial celebration of the Nurses' Training School established in 1877 by the New York Hospital. This was the second school of the kind in New York City, the Bellevue Hospital School having been organized about four years earlier. The New York Hospital, one of the oldest in the country, was founded in the eighteenth century, has taken an active part in the history of the city, and has especially served in the care of the sick and wounded during all the wars in which the United States has been engaged. There are said to have been more than two thousand women graduated from the training school, and the program for the reunion was planned so as to call to their attention the recent developments, not only in the medical and nursing service, but in many aspects of social and civic development as well.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti.* By FELIX FRANKFURTER. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1927. Pp. 118. \$1.00.

This compelling account will remain an important document in the history of what has become one of the outstanding cases in the annals of criminal justice. To those who were unwilling to form an opinion on the basis of vague general statements, Mr. Frankfurter's book came as a welcome presentation of the evidence in the case; it was in this respect much more illuminating than the two opinions of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, since that court, under the law of the state, was unable to pass upon the weight of the evidence. Dean Wigmore's attack upon Mr. Frankfurter strengthened rather than weakened confidence in the correctness of Mr. Frankfurter's estimate; for the specific points of the attack appeared to have been successfully refuted. A much more serious question is of course presented by the adverse result of the review of the case undertaken by Governor Fuller and by the commission appointed by him—these two reviews, independently of each other, affirming the justice of the verdict. The report of the commission is fuller than the governor's statement, and it raises several points upon which we should like to have more light than we get from the book: the fatal bullet is said to have been of an obsolete type no longer manufactured, but of the same type as bullets found in Sacco's possession; from the book we get the impression that it was of a type used in a revolver also found in the possession of a member of another gang suspected of the crime (p. 97); the commission places some reliance upon the identification of a cap found at the murder scene with a cap worn by Sacco, evidence which Frankfurter considers "too insignificant for detailed attention" (p. 32); was there no evidence produced at the trial whether Sacco at the time of his arrest, twenty days after the murder, wore an old or a new cap? Again, the commission treats as significant the resemblance of a pistol found in Vanzetti's possession to one generally carried by Berardelli, the murdered man; this point is dealt with in a footnote on page 33 of the book in a manner strongly favorable, and perhaps too favorable, to the defendant. But, generally speaking, the impression produced by the book is not effaced by the rather perfunctory conclusions reached by the commission. We are still perturbed by the inherent unreliability of the identification testimony; by the equivocal and probably misleading answer given by the expert witness, Proctor, as to the identity of the fatal bullet; by the weakness of the "consciousness of guilt" argument; by the exploitation of the defendants' political record and reputation to their detriment, above all by the failure of the prosecution to connect the defendants with any criminal gang or with the very large spoils of

the crime; and by the commission's silence on the circumstances pointing to another gang, to which a whole chapter and an appendix of Frankfurter's book are devoted. It is true that it is no longer possible to maintain that the two men have not had the benefit of every safeguard known to human justice; but human justice remains fallible, and entire respect for the good faith in which men of high standing have discharged a heavy responsibility does not compel us to believe in guilt where there is a possibility of innocence. To attribute the lack of acquiescence in the commission's verdict to sympathy with the political affiliations of the defendants would be quite as mistaken as to deny that that sympathy has counted for much in the entire case. For the doubts that remain, Mr. Frankfurter's book is perhaps chiefly responsible. In any event, he deserves credit for the courage with which he undertook a task which in the community in which he lives was thankless and unpopular.

ERNST FREUND

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*The Co-operative Movement in Social Work* (Social Welfare Library). By WILLIAM JOHN NORTON. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. xiii+373. \$3.50.

This book is a comprehensive study of the development of co-operation, principally financial co-operation, among social agencies. The early history of the federation movement is especially well presented, and furnishes the explanation for many things now found in community chest organizations.

It is not difficult to discover from the text that Mr. Norton is sincerely sold on financial federation for social agencies, and is convinced that those persons not so enthusiastic about that type of co-operation are lacking in vision. Indeed, so thoroughly does Mr. Norton believe in federation that he exhibits a tendency throughout the book to attribute all improvement in social work, and even the increase in the spirit of religious and social tolerance, to the community chest movement.

If unprejudiced persons set out to discover the most satisfactory materials for paving purposes, they do not satisfy themselves by studying only brick or only concrete, but study all materials which have been used for paving, and compare one with another. In advancing claims, however, for financial federation, it seems to the advocates of the movement necessary to present only results in federation cities. Mr. Norton asks if larger service for old agencies has been produced through federation, and answers, "The evidence on this point is overwhelming. One has only to study any federation that has been five years in existence and note the growth of work that has come to the old agencies since the days before the federation was established as reflected in the budgets."

He then gives illustrations from Detroit, showing the trend. Summarized they are as shown in Table I.

TABLE I

Agency	1918 Budget	1926 Budget
Children's Aid Society.....	\$ 94,500	\$264,000
St. Vincent de Paul Child Caring Department.....	69,000	225,000
Jewish Charities.....	62,000	224,000
Y.W.C.A.....	199,000	431,722

Had the Chicago situation been investigated, however, it would have been found that, without federation, agencies have also enjoyed a growth in recent years. A few illustrations are given in Table II.

TABLE II

Agency	Year	Budget	Year	Budget
Boy Scouts of America.....	1922	\$ 78,000	1925	\$ 152,000
Ill. Children's Home & Aid Soc'y....	1922	165,000	1925	256,000
United Charities.....	1918	438,000	1926	625,000
Girl Scouts.....	1922	10,000	1925	27,000
Glenwood School for Boys.....	1922	186,000	1925	225,000
Chicago Boys' Club.....	1922	359,000	1926	61,000
Y.M.C.A.....	1918	1,892,000	1926	3,621,000

Certain Chicago agencies operating within a federation (the Jewish Charities) did not enjoy so large an increase during the same years (Table III).

TABLE III

	Year	Budget	Year	Budget
Jewish Home-Finding Society.....	1922	\$113,000	1925	\$136,000
Jewish Social Service Bureau.....	1922	408,000	1925	461,000
Marks Nathan Orphanage.....	1922	142,000	1925	136,000

Likewise, the giving of \$15,000,000 for new buildings in Detroit since 1919 is cited as a notable achievement for federation without reference to increases in cities not utilizing the federation principle. In Chicago, the capital account of one agency, the Y.M.C.A., increased from \$7,350,000 in 1921 to \$13,634,000 in 1926, an increase of over \$6,000,000 in only five years. Other agencies have also increased their capital accounts remarkably.

Mr. Norton recognizes that there is a point of diminishing returns for the present-day campaign methods, but does not admit the existence of a point of

saturation in giving. In this connection, figures (Table IV) showing the increase in giving in sixty-eight community-chest cities that have been in operation for five years, recently made public by Mr. Pierce Williams, of the American Association of Community Chests and Councils, are of interest.

If, as is probably the case, there was an increase in the number of participating agencies in most of the sixty-eight chests during the five years under comparison, the decreasing rate of increase in amount raised does not hold out much hope for the growth of social service in cities under the federation plan.

Probably the most important contribution the federation has made to social work, and yet the one most feared by organizations attempting to maintain their "independence," is the community budget. The budget committee is supposed to see social work whole, and to be able to evaluate the services of each

TABLE IV

Year	Amount Raised	Amount of Increase	Percentage of Increase
1923.....	\$29,666,618	.....	.....
1924.....	31,940,744	\$2,274,156	7.6
1925.....	33,009,445	1,068,671	3.3
1926.....	34,933,143	1,923,698	5.8
1927.....	35,387,627	454,484	1.3

agency in terms of the community problem. So far, this evaluation can be done only in terms of the judgment of a number of individuals subject to the ordinary human prejudices. With the optimism displayed throughout the book, Mr. Norton gives the impression that committees are really able to apportion the community fund equitably. It is to be doubted very much, however, if this is actually the case. Budget committees have, when their fund was undersubscribed, ordered a proportionate cut to every participating agency, even though in some cases such a cut would actually make it impossible for some agencies to continue. Oversubscriptions are often handled in much the same way. To quote Mr. Norton, "If it is justifiable for the Young Men's Christian Association to expand its permanent equipment from an investment of a little more than \$100,000,000 in 1920 to well over \$160,000,000 in 1926, an advance that the writer highly approves of, then a similar growth at the same time is justifiable for the child welfare agencies, the public health work, the family welfare societies, and the numerous services built up for girls and young women."

The reviewer can see no justification for a proportionate increase in all types of social work. Rather it is conceivable that a growth in certain fundamental activities would in time do away almost entirely with other ameliorative activities. When, however, budget committees are furnished with a technique for determining the relative importance of the various types of work, then will the federation be furnishing to philanthropy the intelligent efficiency that is claimed now.

Many other arguments may be raised against various points in the book, but they are no doubt familiar to the author. They cannot, however, detract from the value of the work, and Mr. Norton has made a real contribution to the literature of philanthropy.

F. F. LAUNE

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*Public Welfare Administration in the United States: Select Documents.* By SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. 786. \$4.50.

The publication of "source books" designed as aids to college and university instruction began in this country some thirty years ago. At first, such books were intended for use with large classes in elementary or other courses covering standard subjects in a compendious manner. They therefore consisted chiefly of very brief extracts from very numerous documents, with resulting choppiness, lack of setting, and deadly dullness. Source books of this type have now very generally fallen out of use. The idea behind the experiment was, however, a good one; and presently a new style of source book began to appear—a book, usually of large proportions, bringing into convenient juxtaposition fewer but much longer "readings" dealing with some newer and more specialized subject of study on which the literature was not as yet abundant or at all events not easily accessible. Students of economics will call to mind sundry source books of this kind relating to one or another of a wide variety of special subjects—labor, trusts, and what not—within that broad field; and an excellent illustration of the type is the volume here under review, one of a series planned in the Graduate School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago with a view to providing adequate scientific material on various phases of social service administration for use in classes in that institution and in other places where similarly advanced instruction in this field is undertaken.

Certain volumes in the "University of Chicago Social Service Series" have preceded the present one; others are nearing completion; and still others are planned. Two that are in definite prospect have relieved Dr. Breckinridge of the necessity of dealing in her present book with certain obvious and important parts of her subject. One of these will be devoted entirely to the problems of public provision for child care; the other, under the title "Social Work and the Courts," will have to do with the organization of the state's attorney's office, the machinery and methods employed in bringing accused persons to trial, the probation services, and other matters on the judicial or quasi-judicial side of the field.

Even so, the ground to be covered in the present book is very extensive, and the problem of selection and proportion must have given the editor much trouble at every stage of her work. That the difficulty has been so splendidly

surmounted may be attributed not only to Dr. Breckinridge's high qualifications for the task, but also to the fact that the materials presented have been tested by five years of use, in mimeographed form, with classes at Chicago. It is safe to assume that nothing has found a place in the volume that has not proved its worth in competition with other materials which do not appear.

The editor's reasons for compiling a volume of documents instead of preparing a treatise are interesting and convincing. "A study," she says, "of the intricacies and difficulties illustrated by the following documents, and these can serve only as an introduction to the field, will convince the reader that there is an enormous volume of work to be done before a really comprehensive treatise can be prepared. The development in the various states is alike in many respects, because the modern community everywhere finds itself confronted with these problems of distress; all situations are alike in some respects; no two are alike, however, in all respects; and these difficulties constitute the interest and the difficulty of the narrative." We may venture to hope, however, that the future studies which the documentary materials here presented are calculated to inspire and assist will proceed with such rapidity and success that Dr. Breckinridge will yet be constrained to give us the treatise which we ought some day to have from her pen.

The plan of the volume can be indicated briefly. The upwards of two hundred documents presented—often in full, almost always at considerable length—are, with few exceptions, either (1) reports of legislative committees or of special commissions of investigation, pointing out the kind and amount of the need for which provision is to be made, or (2) statutes by which the establishment of a public welfare agency is authorized, or (3) reports of the authorities set up under such statutes, or finally (4) discussions in national conferences or similar gatherings evaluating these agencies and proposing their development or alteration. The order of presentation is broadly chronological, corresponding to three great stages or periods in the historical evolution of social welfare legislation and administration in the country, i.e., (1) prior to 1863, (2) from 1863 to 1917, and (3) since 1917. The uninitiated, noting the dates, might infer that the transition from one period to another bore some relation to war-time conditions and experiences. In point of fact, however, the second period is dated from the passage of an act in Massachusetts providing for a central state supervisory authority in relation to charitable and correctional institutions, and the third period from the adoption of the Civil Administrative Code of Illinois.

As the editor points out, the documents usually speak sufficiently clearly for themselves; and by far the greater part of the book is purely documentary. Each of the three main parts, however, and also each of the rather numerous sections into which these parts are divided, is supplied with an introductory note containing various sorts of information and comment calculated to make the significance of the ensuing documents somewhat clearer than it otherwise might be. It is hardly necessary to add that these direct contributions of the compiler, usually enriched with bibliographical citations, give the volume an



additional claim upon the student's admiration. Taken together, the introductions supply a running comment on the entire subject covered.

Even the most cursory survey of the subject matter of the book is, of course, impossible here. Suffice it to say that, except as delimited to avoid duplicating other volumes in the series, the work touches its wide field at every significant point. Prepared specially for students of the new but fast-developing science of social service administration, it will be of value to workers in sundry other fields—in sociology certainly, and in political science and even history. It affords a splendid instance of a source-book project intelligently conceived and capably executed.

FREDERIC A. OGG

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*World-Migration and Labour.* By JOHN W. BROWN. Amsterdam, 1926. Pp. x+398.

This volume, which was prepared by the Secretary of the International Federation of Trade-Unions, contains as a supplement the report of the World-Migration Congress, which was convened by the I.F.T.U. and the Labour and Socialist International at London in June, 1926. Mr. Brown has prepared an extremely useful and greatly needed survey, which will be especially valuable in the United States, where immigration is so commonly looked upon as an exclusively American problem. In the present volume immigration is surveyed as a world-problem. Part I, which is historical and statistical, runs to nearly two hundred pages, covering migration in all countries. Part II deals with the regulation of migration, including chapters on the restriction of emigration and immigration, the methods of restriction or recruiting in the various countries, the protection of immigrants, and, as is suitable for a labor publication, the organization of immigrants.

Other sections deal with the position of the immigrant in relation to social insurance legislation, a subject relatively unimportant in the United States; with economic aspects of migration, especially migration in relation to over-population and unemployment; and, finally, with proposals for an international migration policy for labor.

The volume has been ruthlessly cut in order to keep it within manageable costs of publication; and it is not documented. Even the bibliography at the end of the book occupies only three pages, although it includes government reports and miscellaneous studies from a dozen different countries. One reads with regret that it was found necessary to delete chapters on "the naturalization of immigrants, on immigrant housing, and on the work of institutions protecting immigrants, and, further, to cut down the reports dealing with the smaller European countries, to omit numerous charts, graphs, etc." The material in the book is of such value that the sacrifice of so considerable a part of it will be generally regretted.

Unfortunately, the United States was not represented at the London Conference, but the other English-speaking countries of immigration, Canada and Australia, both sent delegates, so that the point of view of the nations with restrictive policies is represented. American students, however, need to see their immigration problems objectively and in relation to world-conditions and world-policies with respect to migration.

As for European opinion regarding the United States, we are looked upon as a nation that has entered upon a cycle of economic prosperity unexampled in the history of the world, and we are said to have set out upon "an economic and financial conquest of the world in comparison with which the exploits of Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon pale into insignificance." But we are told that, like all conquests, our prosperity is being won at the expense of other nations. "The progress of the United States of America is largely at the expense of Europe, and, *in part*, accounts for European depression." The data on which these statements are based cannot be discussed here, but the final comment of labor on the situation is interesting: "The ideals of International Labour make European workers reluctant to advocate a policy which would prejudice the position of prosperity which has been won by the workers of any other state. Nor was there any temptation to do so as long as the United States were open to European workers. Now that immigration is restricted, European workers must give closer attention to the economic conditions which are tending to produce the economic evils from which they can now find much fewer avenues of escape than formerly."

There is, however, a disposition to face the facts courageously. It is pointed out that the industrially backward countries of the world are faced with three alternatives: (a) to encourage industrialization; (b) to emigrate to the countries of the world that are still open for immigrants; (c) to restrict population. We are told further that ultimately they will certainly be compelled to adopt methods of population restriction, "because everything seems to point to the rapid spread of the restriction of immigration in the new countries." The older countries also are advised "to study carefully the potentialities of immigration still left to them, and to guide their policies accordingly." The races of the world are in the following position:

The world is growing visibly smaller; the good places are being seized; those who do not move will soon find it too late. Therefore it is well that such movement as there is should be wisely directed: it should go to those parts of the world which benefit by it. . . . International Labour must be desirous of avoiding a fierce scramble, of judging with equal impartiality the claims of the emigrants, and of the natives upon whom they desire to plant themselves; and it should be capable of determining why immigration should be in this or that direction, and how it should be organized. Otherwise it may presently find itself entangled in a wild struggle for the few free places left on the face of the earth.

This is a large mandate for labor, and it is good to know that the I.F.T.U. has leadership with courage to undertake it.

E. A.

*Where Is Civilization Going?* By SCOTT NEARING. New York: Vanguard Press, 1927. Pp. viii+110. 50 cents.

The point of view is just as determinative of the view when looking at things in general as at things in particular. One may look up to civilization or down at civilization. The former requires only historical knowledge; the latter requires audacity. Scott Nearing has both; so he looks at civilization from both points of view. Looking up, he sees the slow emergence of modern capitalism from simpler stages of "savagery" and "barbarism"; looking down, he sees, from a utopia of the future, civilization giving way to the "New Social Order" of organized workers. He looks up in order to look down; and once the vantage point of the hypothetical future is achieved, it is easy to adjudge civilization a failure without growing pessimistic. Here at least is relief from Spengler. The synthesis follows the antithesis as victoriously as the antithesis the thesis.

How can one grow sufficiently clairvoyant as thus magisterially to indict the present order? By merely keeping his eyes open to the drift of current circumstances, says Nearing. Present events empirically "indicate" metamorphosis from "local units to a world society," from a "class-divided to a class-less society," from "superstition to social science," from "riches for the few and poverty for the many to a guaranteed livelihood for all," from "a working class performing the labor and an owning class enjoying the leisure to the distribution of leisure among all who render productive or useful service." But these "indications" follow necessarily only upon the heels of desire. This is not social science, as Nearing would have us believe, but social philosophy, where the wish is at least grandfather to the thought. But if "wishful thinking" it is, it is a type of wishful thinking that helps the event to birth. Great social changes are stirring in our time—how great, one realizes anew from such a bird's-eye view as this little volume presents. We are assuredly on our way, whether Mr. Nearing knows where we are going or not. An increase in world trade-union membership from thirteen to forty-six millions in seven years is, as he says, greatly significant. And whether the Russian experiment marks the door to the kingdom of man, it marks a great event on which other events no less great impend. One need not take Nearing's nostrums in order to wish that the same generous regard for unprivileged or underprivileged classes that motivates his philosophy motivated the philosophy of all who actually direct human traffic at the cosmic cross-roads.

T. V. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*The Modern Mental Hospital.* By ROBERT HUNTER STEEN, M.D., F.R.C.-P. London: Methuen, 1927. Pp. vi+115. 6s. net.

A book on the treatment of the insane written by the former superintendent of the City of London Mental Hospital, who was at the same time professor of psychological medicine at King's College, London, is bound to attract attention. Dr. Steen has summarized the experience and thinking of a lifetime in this neg-

lected field, in a well-written, altogether non-technical book, for the purpose, apparently, of strengthening "a feeling of true brotherhood . . . between the sane and the insane." The book is intended to reassure the British public, "who have lately been allowed to entertain doubts on the subject," regarding the treatment of the "pauper insane" in the British Isles.

While Dr. Steen nowhere refers to it, he no doubt had in mind, as he wrote, the broadsides of Dr. Montagu Lomax, in the book *Experiences of an Asylum Doctor*. Dr. Lomax, one learns elsewhere, served as assistant physician at the Prestwich Asylum for nineteen months during the war, and was shocked to discover (a) the uniform and scanty clothing of patients, (b) the routine use of drugs and purgatives, (c) the lack of classification, (d) the stupid "behind the table" treatment—apparently a mild form of restraint or punishment, (e) the primitive toilet facilities, and the conditions of "the closet-barrow gang," etc. Dr. Lomax's indictment of the "system" was so serious that the Ministry of Health appointed a Committee "to investigate and report." The Committee, reporting in 1922 (Cmd. 1730), labeled many of Dr. Lomax's charges "gross exaggerations"; other charges were admitted to be true but were justified because of "the abnormal conditions created during the war."

The point, of course, is clear. Dr. Steen is attempting, quite legitimately, to counteract the influence of Dr. Lomax's exposé and to inspire public confidence in the mental hospital and its treatment of the insane.

Dr. Steen's method of doing this is to employ a rather unique literary form. He accompanies a hypothetical pair of cousins on a tour of inspection of a hypothetical—presumably his own—institution, pointing out the various features of the hospital, answering questions of his guests, and so on.

The author certainly states the case for the mental hospital at its best. One might infer from his description that the reforms of Tuke and Pinel had become universal. "Neither expense nor trouble," he says, "is allowed to stand in the way of the employment of the latest discoveries if thereby the patient can in any way be benefited." Would this were true of all, yes, most of the institutions for the "pauper insane" in English-speaking countries! Many of the state hospitals in this country, at least, still resemble only too closely the descriptions of Mr. Beers (*A Mind That Found Itself*) and, more recently, Jane Hillyer (*Reluctantly Told*).

Many readers of this volume, however, will be genuinely surprised to learn for the first time of the passing of the padded cell and the straight-jacket along with the other forms of restraint, and of the substitution of hydro-, psycho-, and occupational therapies in the treatment of dementia. To such a group, Dr. Steen has made a distinct contribution in the form of an excellent bit of educational-publicity literature.

The psychiatrically trained person, on the other hand, will find little to interest him, unless it is the author's conviction that "good nurses are born, not manufactured. . . . It was bad enough when there was no training, now there is too much." Our difficulty in America is not so much in getting good (mental)

nurses "born" as it is in getting them "manufactured," judging from the report of the recent federal census!

Mental-hygiene societies will want to add this title to their traveling libraries. Psychiatric social workers will find it useful in dealing with the apprehensive relatives of a patient. Teachers of social pathology will use it as supplementary reading. It is not inconceivable that a courageous teacher of high-school civics or citizenship could also use the book.

If some enterprising student of mental hygiene would adapt this book to American facts and conditions (very few changes would be necessary), adding a few well-chosen pictures, its use and influence would be very greatly increased.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Outlines of Sociology of Human Behavior.* By DANIEL H. KULP II. New York: A. G. Seiler, 1926. Pp. x+275. \$2.50.

Dr. Kulp has prepared rather an elaborate series of outlines on the subject of human behavior, including references to literature in sociology and the allied sciences. The material is presented at first from the descriptive viewpoint, showing the principal problems to be considered, their fundamental characteristics, and methods of approach in dealing with them. Then the historical aspect of social questions is traced from early origins of society, including the evolutionary development of social forces. Next is a consideration of the nature of the individual and the group; and, through analysis of the elements involved, a scheme is devised for the study of the dynamics of social interaction, methods of discovering facts, and means of utilizing these facts for action.

One section is devoted to the examination of some special social problems, and the last section deals with the origin and development of sociology, its relation to the other social sciences, and its present status.

The outlines are intended primarily for beginning students in sociology and are divided into short chapters, with a list of stimulating queries at the end of each. Especially to be commended is the excellent bibliography distributed strategically throughout the book.

EDWIN R. EISLER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Some Early Tracts on Poor Relief.* Edited by F. R. SALTER; with a Preface by SIDNEY WEBB. London: Methuen, 1926. Pp. xx+128. 5s.

This is a valuable source book for students in history of philanthropy. The documents reprinted have been made familiar in Sir William Ashley's classic chapter on the relief of the poor in his *Economic History*, Part I, but it is extremely helpful to have the original documents themselves made available. The book is useful, too, because although histories of poor relief for all the countries

concerned are available, we are given here a flashlight picture of the condition of the poor of England and Northern Europe and the methods devised simultaneously in different countries for dealing with the problems of destitution.

The documents reprinted include:

1. The *De Subventione Pauperum*, written by Juan Luis Vives, the great humanist scholar, at the request of a young mayor of Bruges. Written during the writer's residence in England in 1526, it was translated into French, Spanish, and Italian, but, curiously enough, not into English.

Mr. Salter notes that apart from his main thesis, the duty of the community to make provision for its poor, "Various subsidiary points of interest are raised by Vives: the real economy of any money spent on education, the need of special care for the mentally defective, the value of medical experts in detecting malingerers, the duty of cities to be frugal in their public banquets, sentiments of mild antimilitarism, etc."

There is much that is modern in the Vives tract, as when he writes: "And just as in a wealthy house it were a disgrace for the father of the family to allow any to hunger, or go naked, or to be disgraced by rags, so it is not seemly that in a city by no means needy the magistrates should permit any citizens to be harassed by hunger and poverty."

It was in keeping with the spirit of the time that his imagination did not reach to modern tax-supported charities. Almsgiving, he thought, should "above all be voluntary, as Paul says. No one should be forced to do good. There will undoubtedly be abundance of alms; God will supply them. People often fear greatly lest funds may not be forthcoming to carry on good works that have been started, but as the work grows, they flow in, through unknown and surprising channels."

2. The second document is the *Forma Subventionis Pauperum*, which sets forth the methods adopted for dealing with the poor by the city of Ypres in 1525, translated from the Latin and published in England in 1535. The section under the heading "That is it a very harde busynes to prouyde for poore men" also has a modern flavor. Mr. Salter's translation of the Judgment of the Sorbonne is a useful addition to the Ypres document.

The remaining documents are: (3) Luther's *Ordinance for a Common Chest*, which was set up in the town of Leisnig in Saxony in 1523; (4) Zwingli's *Ordinance and Articles Touching Almsgiving*, from Switzerland; (5) *Les Pauvres de Rouen*, Extracts from the poor law of Rouen; and (6) the two English statutes of 1531 and 1536 dealing "with beggars and vagabonds." One wishes that Mr. Salter's book might have been a little longer so that some additional English documents might have been given.

The extremely valuable introductory notes and useful references to authorities should not be overlooked, nor the excellent introduction contributed by Mr. Sidney Webb from his long study of the English poor law.

E. A.



*Weibliche Polizei: Ihr Werden, ihre Ziele und Arbeitsformen als Ausdruck eines neuen Wollens auf dem Gebiete der Polizei.* Herausgegeben von JOSEPHINE ERKENS. Lübeck: Deutscher Polizei-Verlag, 1925. Pp. III. M. 5.

The authors of this interesting book, in which Frau Erkens had the co-operation of four of her co-workers, show how the first women police were organized in Germany as an inevitable result of post-war conditions existing in the occupied area, especially Cologne.

This statement may seem strange in view of the fact that Dr. Chloe Owings, in her recent and comprehensive book on *Women Police* (New York, 1925), gives an account of the work of women police in Germany before the war. In fact, Dr. Owings' book indicated that Germany had been the first country in the world to establish such officers and that thirty-five different German cities actually had policewomen in pre-war days. Now comes Frau Erkens, a well-known German authority, complaining in this new book on *Weibliche Polizei*

that the question of women police had hardly ever been discussed in German circles until plans were under way for organizing them in 1923, whereas in a number of other countries, for example in England and the United States, well-trained women police have served successfully and have been recognized for years [p. 19].

The apparent contradiction seems to be explained by the fact which Frau Erkens recounts as follows:

Women have been active within the police organization in Germany for almost two decades, but only in the capacity of welfare workers without having any police authority. They emphasized much more the social welfare work instead of the police work. They rendered social service among the women detained by the police responsible for controlling prostitution [p. 20].

Following the war, however, Germany developed a full-fledged woman police, handsomely uniformed after the English model. The account of the new organization is interesting. In Cologne there existed, on the one hand, a citizenry composed overwhelmingly of young women. There existed also conditions of famine caused by food shortage of the pre- and post-war periods. On the other hand, there was an army well fed and with little to do. Furthermore, there were the depressing effects of the fall in the value of German currency, which increased the lure of the English money. The natural effects of such a situation can easily be imagined. The great increase in secret prostitution became evident through the increase in social diseases in the army of occupation.

As the German government did not seem to give adequate help in controlling the situation or in offering adequate medical care, the army officials themselves undertook the control of the situation. The directors of the different zones drew up an ordinance looking toward the control of immoral conditions, with the emphasis laid on the social-welfare approach. In the spring of 1921, Ordinance 83



of the Interallied Commission of the Rhineland Military Occupation was put into effect.

As new cases of venereal disease were continually developing, the English military police made wholesale arrests of those whom they considered loitering girls. The police were not equipped to care for these young women after they were arrested, and unbearable conditions developed. The German women should be credited with an effort to control the evil, for a short time before the ordinance went into effect the large women's organizations of Cologne that had been working to prevent delinquency and to render protective service for juveniles had employed a social worker to help the police in this situation, and she did help to determine the needs of these girls through social-welfare methods.

The ordinance of 1921, however, failed to bring the desired results. Finally, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, an Englishwoman well known for her services in connection with the International Suffrage Association and the International Federation of University Women, was appointed to make an investigation of the Cologne situation for the English ministry of war. She found that the methods employed in carrying out the ordinance were quite unsuitable, and she therefore proposed to the English government in January, 1923, that women police be sent to Cologne so that greater emphasis might be laid on preventive work. She recommended further that the government secure the approval and the co-operation of the women of Cologne in establishing this new form of protective work for the young women and girls in their city.

In March, 1923, Commandant Mary Allen, the director of the Women's Police Service in London, whose task it had been to train women police for service in the large English cities, was sent to Cologne by the war ministry with specific directions to co-operate with the women of Cologne who were interested in the problem. After meeting with them and after investigating existing conditions, she was later authorized to complete the plans for the new service. On July 1, 1923, an English woman police inspector with five other women workers (*Konstablerinnen*) began their work in Germany with the co-operation of police officials and social workers of Cologne. One month later, three German women who had already been trained in general social work entered the service and received instructions in the technique of police work from Commandant Allen.

Thus in August, 1923, through the help of the English police women, the first German women were actually established in the official police service. The success of the new experiment is described in this book, and American social workers interested in the women police movement will share the hope of Frau Erkens and her co-workers that this development in Cologne may be a forerunner of a system of women welfare police over the whole of Germany. The illustrations are an attractive feature of the book and indicate that in the long run America will have much to learn from Germany in this field.

*American Villagers.* By C. LUTHER FRY. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926. Pp. 201. \$2.50.

*Proceedings, Eighth National Country Life Association.* University of Chicago Press, 1926. Pp. 155. \$2.00.

*Handbook of Rural Social Resources.* By HENRY ISRAEL and BENSON Y. LANDIS. University of Chicago Press, 1926. Pp. 203. \$2.00.

These three volumes indicate new approaches to the rural problem. Social workers have been applying to the problems of rural United States the forms of organization and technique of work which have been developed in the metropolitan communities. Are the problems in the rural communities identical with those of urban communities? If not, must new methods, new techniques, and new forms of organization be developed to deal with the problems peculiar to the rural communities?

In *American Villagers*, Mr. Fry makes a detailed analysis of uncompiled census data concerning 177 villages and of the results of an investigation of conditions in 140 of these villages made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. The characteristics of these villages are compared, on the one hand, with those found in selected cities in the same geographical area, and, on the other hand, with those found in the open country. The most significant conclusion drawn by the author is that the United States Census Bureau is not justified in employing the term "rural" in the present indiscriminate fashion. The Census now includes in its definition of "rural" all unincorporated villages and incorporated villages with populations of less than 2,500 persons. This investigation shows that the term "rural" includes two distinct types of area, the village and the open country. It also shows that the village differs from the open country in certain fundamental respects, as age distribution, birth-rate, and the distribution according to occupations, the village being more like the city with regard to these characteristics than like the open country.

The American Country Life Association offers another avenue of approach to the rural problem. Specialists in rural problems and farmers met at Richmond, Virginia, in 1925 to discuss "Needed Readjustments in Rural Life Today." The subject was divided into seven main topics: (1) "Farmer's Income"; (2) "Standards of Life"; (3) "Relation of Farm Groups to Other Groups"; (4) "Integrating Country Life"; (5) "Adjustment of Agencies"; (6) "Political Adjustments"; and (7) "Attitude toward the Country." The first two topics were considered of primary importance, little direct attention being given the other five. Three suggestions were made looking toward a method to increase the farmer's income: first, through scientific management of the farm; second, through specific education in the Smith-Hughes school, the high schools, and the colleges; and third, through following up the matter of co-operative action. Standard of life was resolved into four items: education, leadership training, development of community consciousness, and community integration through adult education.

While the procedure followed in this Conference is indicative of the possibilities of the discussion method, and while many problems pertinent to rural life were pointed out, the discussions leave one with a sense of incompleteness and vagueness as to what is to be the line or lines of attack on the several problems presented by our rural communities.

In the *Handbook of Rural Social Resources* we have a most valuable aid to the rural social worker. Not only are there brief statements of the activities of the national agencies engaged in rural social work, but also interpretations of the recent developments in rural life by specialists in each field. Such a book should be in the reference library of every rural worker.

ELINOR NIMS

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

*Family Disorganization.* By ERNEST R. MOWRER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. 317. \$3.50.

In addition to presenting an intelligent discussion of the court records of desertion and divorce in Chicago, Dr. Mowrer has made an interesting study of the marital relationship, using the analytical method of social psychology. Following an Introduction on the ideals of the modern family, the author takes up, in turn, statistics and statistical methods applied to divorce and desertion in Chicago, and the case-study methods for the analysis of family disorganization. This is followed by a brief chapter on conclusions, an outline for studying factors in family disorganization, and a selected Bibliography.

In the discussion of the ideals of the modern family Dr. Mowrer stresses the fact that the family is not merely a human aggregate but must be considered as an organization of habits, attitudes, and ideals. The disorganization in family unity and solidarity which is taking place at the present time he ascribes largely to the trend toward individualization which characterizes Western civilization, a trend due to changes in the economic and social structure whose roots lie in the Industrial Revolution, the Romantic movement, and the Reformation. He then analyzes the proposed reforms, including both conservative and radical measures. The confusion of ideals represented in these programs of reform is attributed to the fact that the family has not as yet satisfactorily adjusted itself to urban life. The section devoted to statistical methods of study relates the Chicago situation to general statistics of divorce, and has been carefully done. In analyzing the causes of divorce and desertion from available records, the author finds that the causes enumerated give little insight into the intrinsic factors of family disorganization. The application of statistical correlations of the causes enumerated, while helpful, does not furnish an adequate explanation of divorce and desertion problems. In a chapter in this section on the ecology of family disorganization, it is demonstrated that a study of cultural factors in family disorganization must take neighborhood into account; that the city is an aggregate of cultural areas with varying social standards and types, in which there occur considerable variations in the extent and trend of family disorganization.

In the section on case-study methods some of the earlier studies are discussed, particularly those by Brandt and by Eubank, and it is pointed out that these studies do not take sufficiently into account psychological factors in family organization, and are, therefore, inadequate in arriving at an understanding of causative factors. Of the more recent study made by Thomas and Znaniecki of family disorganization among the Polish group in Chicago, Dr. Mowrer considers that the interpretation of cases upon the basis of group culture, though enlightening, is inadequate in individual study of the development of culture variations. He concludes, however, that it is the case-study method which is most promising for discovering the factors of family organization and disorganization. The case records of social agencies which were consulted for this purpose were found inadequate for the particular sociological and psychological data which the author was seeking. As case records are not primarily written as research material, there is considerable to be said for this criticism. Social case workers, however, have become aware of the need for a greater analytical viewpoint and for including in case records more of the subjective factors regarding the family problem. In his impatience, however, with available case records, Dr. Mowrer proceeds to substantiate his theories of family disorganization by material from diaries and letters which are questionable and at times misleading.

Family tensions have been classified as incompatibility in response, economic individualization, cultural differentiation, and individuation of life-patterns. The socio-analysis of the diary of Miriam Donaven indicates the use of psycho-analytic terminology, and the explanation of implied motives appears more subjective than is desirable. The method employed indicates the difficulties which sociologists encounter in basing deductions upon collected case material. In his conclusions the author stresses the need for a scientific study of family disorganization. He points to the example of psychiatry, indicating the value of the scientific approach. Some of the outstanding problems which require study and control are listed.

The study is valuable largely in indicating the need for a thoroughgoing analysis of social and psychological factors in family life. Social agencies will be stimulated by this discussion to a broadening and refining of the technique used by them in analyzing and dealing with family problems.

H. L. LURIE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
May 25, 1927.

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*The Disinherited Family: A Plea for Direct Provision for the Costs of Child Maintenance through Family Allowances* (3d. ed.). By ELEANOR F. RATHBONE. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1927. Pp. xii+345. 6s.

The first edition of this book appeared in March, 1924. The publication of a third edition within so short a period is evidence of the wide interest in a program which claims to offer a solution of the wage problem so far as wages of unskilled workers and so far as the question of "equal pay for men and women

workers" are concerned, and to place on a sounder and more dignified basis the relations of men and women within the family group. It is not necessary here to review Miss Rathbone's argument, but to note the supplementary chapter (chap. viii) in which she traces the development of the movement during the years 1924-27.

In this development she finds great reason for encouragement. In Great Britain she finds increasing support among the economists and feminists (p. 317). Sir William Beveridge, for example, has secured the adoption of the plan in arranging the scale of salaries at the London School of Economics; the National Union for Equal Citizenship and the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance have included family allowances among the reforms for which they work. Other important national women's organizations have either affirmed the principle or undertaken to study its merits. The Independent Labour Party included a family endowment scheme in its program at its conference in April, 1926, and the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry recommended among other reforms the introduction of a system of children's allowances to be paid for out of a single pool (p. 319). Miss Rathbone notes, too, the important publications on the subject in England, the United States, and from the International Labour Office.

In other countries she calls attention to the adoption of the principle by the Irish Free State in connection with certain of the civil servants, to the continued use of the method in fixing the pay of certain public servants in Holland, Poland, and Switzerland, and to its extended use in France and Belgium. In Czechoslovakia, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries its use has diminished. In Australia Miss Rathbone reports that while "nothing substantial has yet resulted," "the subject of child endowment has occupied an increasingly prominent place in the election promises of politicians and in party conferences" (p. 328). A bill was brought forward in Queensland in 1925, but was abandoned after a change of government. A measure introduced in the parliament of South Australia the same year met a similar fate because of the conflicting demands of the railway workers; and a measure was introduced in February, 1927, in New South Wales. In New Zealand a Family Allowance Act was put through by the conservative government in 1926, but, as Miss Rathbone points out (p. 330), this confers a state allowance of two shillings, payable to the mother, for each child from the third to the ninth, until the child is fifteen, in case the family income including these allowances does not exceed £4, the basic wage for industries included under the Arbitration Court's awards, and is therefore in the nature of public out-relief.

S. P. B.

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

*Common Lodging-Houses and Kindred Institutions: Report by the Medical Officer of Health.* London County Council, 1927 (No. 2489). Pp. 36. 1s. 6d.

This report by the Medical Officer of Health of the London County Council was probably prepared in reply to a recent book<sup>1</sup> widely read in England, criticizing the lodging-houses and casual wards provided for women, although of course no mention of this purpose appears in the report itself.

The report provides a useful summary of the history of the English acts dealing with "Common Lodging Houses," beginning with Lord Shaftesbury's acts of 1851 and 1853, and the methods of administering the acts. Quotations from Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851), showing the wretchedness of these abodes seventy-five years ago, give evidence of the vast changes that have taken place.

Although the acts do not define a "common lodging house," the courts have undertaken to do so, and in accordance with a definition of the Court of Appeal,<sup>2</sup> all free shelters and charitable institutions where no payment is made by the lodgers for their accommodation are excluded from the operation of the act.

As to the types of persons found in the so-called "Common Lodging House," the English "dosser" most nearly resembles the American "hobo."

The common lodging-house class is by no means a homogeneous one. It shades off at its lower levels into the destitute, the mentally deficient, the morally and physically degraded, while at its upper levels it is indistinguishable from the healthy, wholesome, working class into which it merges. That in some degree it is a product of environmental circumstance is shown by its diminishing number and fluctuating character.

Some years after the transfer of the control of the Common Lodging House in 1894 from the police to the London County Council, the Council applied to Parliament for new legislation, and the powers of licensing and regulation granted in 1902 and 1907 have led to great improvements. A summary of the different types of lodgings provided and of the different classes of occupants at the present time has been carefully prepared.

Special attention is given to women's lodging-houses, and some of the comments on their use may be of interest:

The common lodging-house is not, and never has been, the habitation of the ordinary working woman or girl. In olden days it was exclusively the haunt of the vagrant,

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Cecil Chesterton, *In Darkest London* (London: Stanley Paul & Co., 1926, pp. 255).

<sup>2</sup> *Parker v. Talbot* (1905), 2 Ch., 643; 70 J.P. 43.



the criminal, and the dregs of the female population. Even now, the figures show that the modern woman of the working class, in spite of the character she gets for independence, lack of domesticity, etc., does not normally leave the domestic circle. That women can live happily in community life was shown by the Service women and munition workers during the War, but they do not as a rule choose this form of existence of their own free will.

Even the admirably managed hostels for working girls are rarely full, and many of those founded for the factory girl have changed their original purpose and now cater for business girls, nurses, teachers, etc., who do take to hostel life. It was remarkable in the course of this inquiry to find such a unanimous opinion among social workers that the working girl knew her own business best and was entirely wise to cling to family life when she could, either in her own home or as a lodger in a friend's family. In a family she forms personal ties with others of her own class, which will serve her in good stead throughout life. She gets the best practical training in housewifery and in the outlay of a small income (for the girl lodger always helps a little in the house), and, most vital of all, she has the best chance of marriage. The best hostel or common lodging-house can only offer a pale and artificial substitute for all these things. Hence we shall be well content to find that the ordinary working girl forms only a negligible part of the common lodging-house population. For these and other reasons the problem of the male and female common lodging-houses can never be quite identical.

Two of the half-dozen appendixes are of special interest. Appendix A contains an account of the origin, constitution, and work of the Metropolitan Poor Law Inspectors' Advisory Committee on the Homeless Poor. Appendix B deals with the controversial question, "Shelters, Free or Cheap?" and contains some extracts from the old report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy (Cd. 2852), which is still interesting reading.

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*Report of the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders, March, 1927.* Cmd. 2831. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927. Pp. 139. 2s. 6d. net.

This able and interesting document was prepared by a committee appointed by the Home Secretary in January, 1925, "to inquire into the treatment of young offenders and young people who, owing to bad associations or surroundings, require protection and training; and to report what changes, if any, are desirable in the present law or its administration." No specific age was mentioned in the terms of reference, but the committee considered almost exclusively persons under twenty-one; and those were divided into two groups, the delinquent and the neglected under seventeen, and young persons between seventeen and twenty-one who are offenders. The report contains a sketch of the development of the present provision for treating young persons accused of law violation, which is especially interesting to American students, partly because of the similarities with the American development and partly because the doctrine of the juvenile court has, for reasons of constitutional interpretation, been especially



based on English precedents in equity. The available data are summarized as to the number of offenders under twenty-one, the nature of their offenses, and the manner in which they are dealt with; and a chapter is then devoted to each of the following subjects: the scope, constitution, and procedure of the juvenile court; the trial of young offenders in adult courts; the use of bail and remand; methods of treatment, covering probation, security by parents, guardianship (including boarding-out), fines (including damages and costs), whipping, detention, Home Office schools, imprisonment and its alternatives, detention at the court or in police cells, Borstal institutions, penal servitude, and capital punishment; after-care; mental defects; and finally the problem of neglected children.

The report should be studied in connection with Mr. W. Clarke Hall's book on *Children's Courts*,<sup>1</sup> with the Report of the Pennsylvania Children's Code Commission,<sup>2</sup> and with the Report on the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.<sup>3</sup> There is here, for example (p. 19), an extremely interesting discussion of the subject of jurisdiction, whether it should be regarded as purely civil (i.e., equitable), to which the committee replies in the negative, and whether it should be exclusive (p. 21), to which an affirmative reply is given.

A good deal of attention is paid to the subject of the selection of magistrates (p. 25), the constitution of the court, and to the education, selection, and organization of the probation staff.

Like the Report on the Western Penitentiary, this committee report also lays stress (p. 49) on the public demand for punishment, if not for revenge, as complicating the situation in which the court acts, and, unlike Mr. Clarke Hall, the committee sees whipping as a useful form of treatment (p. 67). Great stress is laid on a progressive and continuous raising of the standards of education and professional equipment of the probation staff. The organization of the staff under a chief probation officer, which would seem essential to the development of true professional standards and practice, the committee disapproves (p. 60). The committee believes in using the volunteer worker at all stages in the treatment of the delinquent child.

The committee recommends that the age of criminal responsibility, which remains seven, be raised to eight (it was raised to ten in Illinois in 1827), that the upper limit for juvenile-court jurisdiction be raised from sixteen to seventeen, that between sixteen and seventeen the court should have power to commit either to a Borstal institution or to a "Home Office" school, that the use of Borstal institutions be extended, that imprisonment be abolished for young persons under seventeen and, if used for those between seventeen and twenty-one, a certificate be required to the effect that the accused cannot be properly dealt with in any other way. The establishment of observation centers or central remand homes wholly maintained by the central authority is strongly urged.

<sup>1</sup> See this *Review* for March, 1927, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> See below p. 531.

The striking reduction in juvenile offenses in the last generation is commented upon. Since 1913 the number of charges proved in the juvenile court against boys and girls declined 26 per cent, and the number of children and young persons sent to institutions by court order declined 69 per cent. During the past five years, forty certificated schools receiving children from the courts have been closed. The conclusions of the committee, which are unanimous except for the recommendation concerning whipping, are set forth in eighty-three propositions or standards.

As the committee found no fundamental difference in the problems presented by such neglected and delinquent children as are found to require institutional care, they recommended the use of the same institutions for both these classes of children in "need of special care."

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*The Juvenile Detention Home in Relation to Juvenile Court Policy: A Study of Intake in the Cook County Chicago Juvenile Detention Home.*<sup>1</sup> By SAVILLA MILLIS. Published by Citizens' Advisory Committee, Cook County. Chicago, 1927. Pp. 96.

This report is one of the evidences of possible co-operation between public and private agencies and between the university and the groups interested in improved care of children. The policy of the county commissioners has for some years now definitely contemplated the use of the unofficial "advisory committee" to supplement the discussions of the official bodies. One such committee was asked to counsel the county authorities on the subject of a proposed reorganization of the Juvenile Detention Home, which is related to the Juvenile Court and essential to the work of the court but not under the direction of the court.

The question of the reorganization of the Home could be intelligently discussed, however, only on the basis of accurate information as to how the Home had been functioning and how the same problems were dealt with in other communities. This information the Citizens' Advisory Committee asked the School of Social Service Administration to obtain and to supply, with this report as one result. Before the investigation on which the report was based, was finished, certain conclusions as to policy could be reached, and an examination for a new superintendent of the Home was accordingly held, with a consequent reorganization of the institution. The report, with an Introductory Foreword by Miss Binford, superintendent of the Juvenile Protective Association and secretary of the Citizens' Advisory Committee, published by the county authorities, contains ten brief chapters dealing with the history of the Home, the population, the agencies through which children are admitted, the children and the police, the

<sup>1</sup> Copies may be obtained on request from the office of the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, 816 South Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois.

records of previous detention, the periods for which the children are held, the release, and the conclusions. In the Appendix, the schedules used are reproduced and the data obtained are discussed. It is impossible here to summarize the data or to comment on the methods employed. The report is brief and will be welcomed by all students of the problem. It represents a very careful study in a field in which little material is available. Groups in other communities will be eager as was the Citizens' Committee that the county care for its children interpreted in daily activity embody the fundamental assumption of the Juvenile Court that it give to all children the care that a good parent would give to his own.

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*A Psychological and Educational Survey of 1,916 Prisoners in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.* By WILLIAM T. ROOT, JR. Published by the Board of Trustees of the Western Penitentiary, 1927. Pp. 246.

This study of the convicts in the Western Penitentiary carried out by a professor of psychology at the University of Pittsburgh, supplemented by a special study of the Italian convicts in the institution by the psychologist of the Penitentiary, is part of the evidence that public officials in Pennsylvania during Governor Pinchot's administration were making a serious attempt to understand the problems with which they had to deal and to explain them to the people of the state. The report is presented in five sections besides an introductory discussion of the character of the data and the methods used in the survey. Three of these sections are devoted to the following subjects: "Mentality of the Inmates of the Western Penitentiary"; "Indirect Social Factors and Crime," in which the facts of place of birth, residence, religion, the broken home, and recreation are related to crime; "Direct Social Factors and Crime," presenting figures with reference to bad leisure habits, unemployment, drink, emotionalism, women, gambling, previous convictions, the weapons used, and the third degree. In a section on "Race and Crime," there is a rather extended study of the Italians; and the final section presents conclusions and suggestions for reform. Of special interest are the comments on the use of the "third degree." The writers believe that there are communities in the state in which it is constantly used. They call attention to the legal principle that if there is evidence there is no need for the third degree; and if there is no evidence, it is inquisitorial in character. Professor Root thinks that one reason for the use of the third degree is the public demand that the police produce a victim on whom vengeance can be wreaked. The most interesting portions in the discussion of race are those dealing with the Italian and with the Negro. We are told that the "negro presents an alarming problem. . . . All the social conditions are unfavorable for the negro, beginning with housing and ending with the thousand social humiliations produced by our caste system. . . . The negro criminal is the victim of a vicious circle of social, biological and economic causes." The author feels sure that few white men can appreciate the

"tremendous cumulative effect throughout life of our caste system. Debarred from this and that in a thousand social taboos, the lot of the negro is unparalleled in the experience of any other race" (p. 217).

Of the Italian convict study, perhaps the most interesting result was the conclusion that the "American-born Italians" are far more like the "native white Americans" of longer residence than like Italian-born Italians, in the type of crime they commit, in the number of previous convictions, in the types of recreation sought, and in their intellectual classification.

The general result of the study is of course to strengthen the argument of those who urge the individualization of the accused and the substitution of treatment for punishment. The writers come back, however, frequently to the recognition of the part the public plays in demanding a scapegoat, realizing that this characteristic of the social mind must act as a drag on any program of reform in the field of criminal justice.

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*Recreation for Blind Children* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 172). By MARTHA TRAVILLA SPEAKMAN. Washington, 1927. Pp. 76. \$0.15.

This publication is the result of a study of many schools for the blind in the United States and England and the leading schools of Paris and Vienna. Miss Speakman has had the assistance of Mr. Robert Irwin, of the American Foundation for the Blind, of Mr. Edward E. Allen, director, Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind, and of Miss Marion Kappes, of the department for the blind of the Cleveland public schools.

Besides an introductory statement on the subject of recreation for the blind, taking as its theme the statement of Helen Keller that "the burden of the blind is not their blindness, but the idleness hitherto treated as inevitable," the report contains a Foreword to Teachers about the use of the handbook, a list of references on the subject, and four sections devoted to music, equipment, games and play for little children, and recreation for older boys and girls.

The report is a handbook prepared by an expert, and should render easier the task of all teachers and caretakers of blind children everywhere.

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*Public Child-Caring Work in Certain Counties of Minnesota, North Carolina, and New York* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 173). By H. IDA CURRY. Washington, 1927. Pp. 96. \$0.15.

In a former publication, No. 107, the Children's Bureau called attention to the development that was taking place in the adaptation of county administration to the performance of child welfare functions. In that study attention was called to the legislation of certain forward-looking states, especially Minnesota

and North Carolina where statewide organization was being attempted, and to some notable experiments in selected counties in other states where there were perhaps local laws or where the development had been original and exceptional. New York, California, and New Jersey were the states in which these interesting experiments were found. In this later publication an attempt is made to utilize the services of one of the best-known workers in the county child welfare field, Miss H. Ida Curry, of the New York State Charities Aid Association, in observing some of these county developments and reporting on their actual accomplishments. Here again Minnesota and North Carolina absorb a considerable share of the attention because of the interesting similarities and equally interesting differences between them when both states have accepted the principle of central responsibility and of state-wide organization.

The situation in Dutchess County, New York, differs from that in Minnesota and North Carolina counties in the following ways: The work rests on legislation applying only to the one county and authorizing only child welfare services. It is related to the old poor law; and the power of determining when children are to be supported from county funds is wholly in the county board of child welfare except so far as children may be committed as delinquent to county institutions. It is impossible to summarize briefly the contents of this report, which should be used by everyone interested in the problem of public organization for child care. Attention should, however, be called to one point emphasized by Miss Curry, and that is the absolute dependence of any efficient child welfare administration on adequate resources of a pecuniary as well as of a personal character. On this point her warning statement should be quoted:

The differences in the situations in the three States emphasize the necessity of those interested in improving public programs of child care to provide adequately for the treatment of social needs as well as for their discovery. In planning State and county child-caring programs those interested have apparently too often failed to take into account that money for the support of children will be necessary to carry their programs into effect. Where this money is to come from, what bodies are to make such appropriations, the responsibility and relation of the appropriating and the administrative bodies, are questions that require careful consideration whenever child-caring legislation is contemplated.

Whether the State or county becomes the case-working unit, provision should be made for the various forms of treatment that the situation demands. If the State supports some children and the county supports others the divided responsibility is apt to result in an attempt by each to shift the burden of support to the other, whether or not the type of care meets the requirements of the child. If the State maintains a State school pending free-home placement and makes provision for no other form of support the frequent result is the permanent separation of children from parents who are merely in temporary need. Courts and local administrators are too inclined to separate children permanently from their families even if they have not the added inducement of free care in a State school as against the cost of local support for even a short time.

Similar difficulties may arise in counties where the town system of support prevails. . . .

If the State is to carry responsibility for case work, and especially if it is to accept children as its wards, it should make sufficiently large appropriations not only to cover the salary and expenses of an adequate number of social workers to make the investigations upon which treatment of the various needs of the children must be based, but also to pay for the various types of treatment for which it becomes responsible. . . .

Unless a State board can be provided with such funds the practicability of the State's accepting case-work responsibility should be weighed carefully against the plan of developing such State supervision, licensing, and inspection as will insure an acceptable standard of case work on the part of its lesser subdivisions, the counties. On the other hand, if the county is determined upon as the practicable unit for support, it should provide socially trained agents to conduct its case work, and it also should support needy children who require either assistance within the family or temporary care outside the family until they can be returned to their own homes or placed elsewhere on a permanent basis.

Summaries of the data assembled in nine counties in Minnesota and in three counties in North Carolina are given in the appendixes, so that it is quite possible for the student to judge of the factual basis of Miss Curry's discussion.

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*Child Welfare in New Jersey. Part I, "State Supervision and Personnel Administration"* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 174).

By WILLIAM J. BLACKBURN. Washington, 1927. Pp. 77. \$0.15.

*Child Welfare in New Jersey. Part II, "State Provision for Dependent Children"* (Publication No. 175). By RUTH BEROLZHEIMER and FLORENCE NESBITT. Washington, 1927. Pp. 148. \$0.25.

*Child Welfare Conditions and Resources in Seven Pennsylvania Counties* (Publication No. 176). By NEVA R. DEARDORFF. Washington, 1927. Pp. 305. \$0.40.

These three publications illustrate the economical and helpful co-operation that can be developed between the federal research bureaus of fine equipment and high standards, and the state agencies that cannot expect to maintain research facilities of the same scientific character. These studies, like the earlier co-operative publications dealing with child welfare problems in North Dakota (No. 160), Wisconsin (No. 150), Georgia (No. 161), have been made at the request of the authorities in the states, to whom they are submitted before publication. They are, therefore, primarily intended to supply interested persons in the state with the facts needed as the basis for a modification and development by the state of the child welfare program. They are, therefore, always definite and constructive. In order to bring a mature judgment to the interpretation of the data, they often represent the assistance of expert social workers in addition to the investigational ability of the Bureau's permanent staff. In these three studies, for example, the Bureau has called in for special assistance Miss Ruth Berolzheimer, Miss Florence Nesbitt, and Dr. Neva Deardorff.

The first of the New Jersey studies illustrates the fact that an adequate un-



derstanding of the child welfare agencies must also include an intelligent understanding of the entire public welfare organization. This study could be taken as a model statement concerning the development of the state public welfare agency in relation to the institutions and agencies already in existence, and is of special interest to students of public welfare in general because it includes a careful examination of the administration of the state civil service commission. The selection of personnel in public social work is a subject on which additional information, critically analyzed and carefully presented, is very greatly needed. The Children's Bureau, at all times a staunch supporter of the "merit" system, is adding to the general obligation under which social workers lie when it adds this unexplored field to the other social areas in which it has made such useful and constructive contributions.

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*Effects of Applied Research upon the Employment Opportunities of American Women* (U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 50). Washington, 1926. Pp. 54. \$0.10.

This report, which aims to show the effect upon women workers of new processes in industry, states that women's individual employment opportunities are often advanced, retarded, or shifted with technical changes in industry, but that the net result is the expansion of the occupational area open to them.

Evidence is given of the general increase of jobs arising from various well-recognized changes in manufacturing processes. Numerous examples are furnished, such as the introduction of entirely new materials like bakelite and rayon. Some direct and indirect effects of the development of transportation and the transmission of power are suggested. These facilities themselves call for women's labor. They are significant also in that they make possible decentralization of industry and utilization of untapped labor resources, as several illustrations show.

It is well to have our attention called to the tremendous changes in women's occupations, if only to remind us that the problems of wage-earning women are no more static than are the processes of the industries in which they are employed.

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*Lost Time and Labor Turnover in Cotton Mills: A Study of Cause and Extent* (U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 52). Washington, 1926. Pp. 203. \$0.35.

In this study an attempt is made to compare lost time and labor turnover of men and women in eighteen cotton mills, located in fourteen states in various parts of the United States and in different types of industrial centers. The data were secured in the year 1923-24 by checking the pay-rolls of these mills for 1922. More than ten thousand names were secured, including about six thousand men and four thousand women. Home visits were made to over two thousand women. Because of the piece-work system, days and not hours of labor were counted, so that tardiness was not studied.



The turnover figures in this study are practically the same for men and women. The main emphasis, however, is upon the subject of absenteeism. The women showed a higher absentee rate than the men, the women in the entire group losing 21.9 per cent of their time, and the men, 16.2 per cent. Several factors were indicated that might have bearing on this difference in the absentee rate, among them the difference in lost time in northern and southern mills and variations according to the time of the year. Significant differences in absenteeism in departments of a cotton mill, the spinning as against the carding room, for example, were pointed out, though no attempt was made to relate these figures to the comparative numbers of males and females employed in these occupations. This might help us to determine whether sex or occupation had more to do with absenteeism. Because of the large number of married women in the textile industries, the figures for women workers show 30 per cent of lost time due to home duties or the illness of others.

Many studies in these fields will have to be made before we have an answer as to the relative stability of men and women employees, and all investigational studies that throw light on the problem will be welcomed.

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*The Status of Women in the Government Service in 1925.* (U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 53). By B. M. NIENBURG. Washington, 1926. Pp. 103. \$0.15.

Attempts at personnel classification of positions in the federal government have recently been made with a view to the equalization of rank and remuneration on the basis of qualifications demanded for the various positions. This movement is of special interest in relation to the problem of women's wages, and any study of the positions held and salaries received by women in specified departments of the federal civil service is bound to be exceedingly interesting. While in some cases the honor of the position or the value of the experience to be gained draws people of highest grade, we do see the reason for a high turnover or a low rate of efficiency in many positions.

Data as to the comparative salaries of men and women in the departments studied are also important. Of the employees studied about half were women and one-half men. Of the women, about one-sixth received an annual salary of \$1,860 or over, while about one-half of the men were in this income class. The large number of stenographers, of course, accounts for some of the discrepancy, though there are many men in clerical positions in the government.

The whole question of position and salary in relation to qualifications required and offered needs a thorough examination and airing if we are to make our government service efficient. Such examination was made several years ago at the time the Lehlbach reclassification bill was proposed, but was not published. This bulletin of the Women's Bureau gives us some of the information we need with reference to women government employees.

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